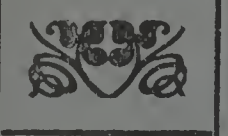


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THE

STRUGGLE
FOR AMERICA



THE
STRUGGLE FOR AMERICA

BY
R. P. BRORUP

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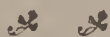
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BRAINS AND BRUTE FORCE.

There is an interesting problem involved in the use of the brains of the foremost among civilized nations for the multiplication of people of a lower type. These people of a lower type are often far ahead of their benefactors in bodily strength and vigor, in vitality and reproductive power; and will multiply as rapidly as the brains of a higher civilization makes it possible with its improvements and increased means of subsistence.

Holland has by the brains of her civilization doubled the number of adherents to Mohammedanism in the island of Java in less than thirty years. England has achieved nearly as much for Egypt in a like space of time. The increase of Mohammedans by the activity of the Christian nations in the last fifty years is probably not less than fifty millions.

This doubling of population of various kinds may be conceived of as achievements more splendid in the process than the final results. The ability to do it may be a matter of boasting, but a far-sighted policy would rather shrink from the responsibility, both as a matter of self-preservation, and in view of the possible effect on the world's best interests.

Would any one be happier to know that the four hundred millions in China should double their number in a given number of years? Or would any one greatly desire to see the three hundred millions in India increase to that extent?

Suppose England should do for the rest of the Mohammedan world what she has done for Egypt—double the number of Mohammedans and subjects of the Sultan—would it further the cause of civil and religious liberty? Would this cause, or the cause of humanity in general, gain anything by the doubling of any of nine-tenths of the earth's population? Unless the quality can be improved the quantity may be considered sufficient. If mechanical or material improvements wrought could work a radical change in the systems that govern their thoughts and sentiments, or change their adherence to a better system, there would be gain, but this has never yet been accomplished by the efforts of modern civilization. The net result has always been an enormous increase of Pagans

and Mohammedans. Education and scientific appliances they have rather adopted as useful weapons for the defence of their own system. The appreciation that improvements and good government has met with has always been of a selfish kind; it has never turned their sentiment in favor either of their masters or of their systems.

Western nations may believe themselves safe in their civilization, their science and inventions, but the final dependence and final appeal in the struggle for predominance, will most likely be to bulk and numbers. Where a sparse and unsettled population of low type invites to settlement and expansion of a higher type, there is gain; but Europeans have never been able to colonize and expand among Asiatics; on the contrary, these have shown themselves able to colonize and expand among Europeans by crowding these aside. The growth and multiplication of our own kind, with its civilization and principles, is our expansion; the expansion in numbers of those that differ from us is theirs, truly and substantially, although we may have the honor of directing their government.

What has been said of the activity of the higher civilization among the people of a lower type is applicable to countries like the United States, where different races are struggling for predominance. The native Americans have suffered in the struggle with foreigners for numerical supremacy; physically their strength and endurance has proved unequal to the contest. Their superior mental qualities, instead of helping their own race, are at the service of their competitors for the possession of the country; they will invent, plan and direct, and by their intellectual activity give the latter that chance for growth and expansion of which, with their superior physical endowments, they are able to take full advantage. Thus we have the sociological phenomenon of a people of a country, after being overcome in a struggle for existence on the ground of brute endurance, helping its competitors by its intellectual activity and accumulation of capital to complete the conquest.

It is notable in the history of the Catholic Church that she never so loved her enemies as to belabor herself for the doubling of their number. As the dominant influence in expansion or conquest by Catholic countries, she has consistently acted upon the doctrine that mere ulterior conquest is of little use

while obtaining no hold on the inner life and sentiment of the people. The solid mass of Catholics from Rio Grande to Cape Horn, in the West India island and in the Philippines, bear witness to her zeal and success as an expansionist in the truest sense. The bond of union she created by her hold on the minds and sentiments of the people has remained unshaken, even when intolerable abuse made them political enemies. Nor is this a small matter, for the world-struggle is rather between principles and the authority inherent in the great fundamental creeds of the world, than a struggle of races apart from their systems and creeds. Amalgamation and union of races and nationalities is not impossible, except where they are kept apart by conflicting systems and principles.

For this reason, systems and principles that govern the various races must not be overlooked in a discussion of the race question. It would, apart from this, have little meaning. The masses come because here is room; or because those already here are weak enough to be overcome in a struggle for existence. With them it is but the natural overflowing in the direction of least resistance. With the Church there are plans and purposes, deep-rooted and far-reaching, and the United States is a great price.

The policy adopted in the pursuit of a certain aim is apt to be modified by the ruling system or principle. Representatives of the reformed faith see in advancement of education, refinement, culture, and whatever belong to what is termed the higher civilization, the surest guarantee of strength and final supremacy. The elder faith rests its hope on bulk and numbers, cemented by sympathy of faith and feeling, being assured that in any contest between fundamentally opposed systems the final appeal will always be to brute force.

The former policy has engendered a weakness manifested in a desire to be saved by special privileges and advantages, political, social or otherwise; proposed or attempted disfranchisements are heard of in States, North and South. Victory in the race conflict is not gained by villifying and oppressing other races; you must increase your own strength and virility. The Constitution of our country requires a republican form of government in all the States, this imposes upon the States the duty of educating all the people so that they may have a

republican or popular form of government. Ignorance and disfranchisements create a privileged class; special privileges and power will furnish in this class a motive for the perpetuation of ignorance and disfranchisements that the power may be retained. This is the reason why education and enlightenment is of slow growth where despotism in any form rules.

But education alone is not a sufficient guarantee for strength and stability in our national structure; it affords no bond of union and sympathy, such as is furnished by oneness of race or faith. Already in our industrial centers we have a condition represented by a wealthy, luxurious, ruling upper class, with the masses, alien and antagonistic in race and religion, in practical opposition. The experiment of building a State with a minority, embodying the wealth, intelligence and power inherent in it, as the foundation, with the masses in practical opposition, is not safe, even if we were willing to employ despotic measures, such as is represented by restriction of suffrage; the force inherent in bulk and numbers will sooner or later assert itself. Such measures could but at best put off the inevitable, and this at the expense of liberty and progress.

The temptation of cheap alien labor from abroad is obvious as one of the ways in which a home population may be dispossessed. When it ceases to fill the rank and file with its own sons, ceases to supply the fundamental of crude strength, bulk and numbers, it ceases to be master or possessor of the country. Our first temptation in this direction was cheap negro labor; Southern whites gained ease and wealth by the sweat of others, but have to divide the country with the negroes—it is theirs in proportion to their numbers and strength. The South was saved from negro domination by the mountainous regions, the population of which was but little affected by slavery on the one hand or by the devitalizing influence of the “higher” civilization of the North on the other. Yet the negroes are not to be counted a national danger; they owe allegiance nowhere outside the United States—know of no other country. They are, upon the whole, in sympathy with what is fundamental in our civilization, and could furnish an almost inexhaustible supply of crude strength for its defense, if not finally alienated by indifference on the one hand and abuse on the other. The negro population, organized by the anti-American force, and with such head and leadership as that

force could supply, would be as formidable in another direction. This is fully appreciated by leading representatives of this force, and they are making strenuous efforts for its conversion; so, likewise, of the mountain population of the South, which is still expanding—dying families do not engage their attention. Could they succeed here, then with their growing power in the North they would soon be in position to dictate the terms on which they would tolerate competition.

The question at issue has been made to turn too much upon the term *loyalty*; as, for instance, the loyalty of Catholics or the Catholic Church, the want of which has in various ways been imputed to her or her adherents. As a rule, the Church has dealt patiently with the imputation; instead of repelling as absurd the idea of disloyalty, she has produced the proof and shown exultingly that Catholics indeed are loyal. Affection for the country in which we live, and expect our children to live, is a natural instinct, and need not be called in question. As for loyalty, it may come to mean one thing with one class and another thing with another, and be equally honest with both. Even with regard to the Catholic Church, as embodied in its authorities, we need not question their loyalty to the country; they realize that they have interests here of immense magnitude, being able to figure out that at the relative increase of Catholics and Protestants, the country will ultimately become Catholic; at any rate, they may be depended on to take an intelligent interest in the destinies of the nation. The question, properly speaking, is not that of loyalty, it is a question what race, civilization and principles are to be dominant in the United States.

As for loyalty to a civilization embodying Protestant principles, the question of loyalty on the part of those who profess adherence to other systems and other principles is absurd. But even here we may admire the facility with which they accommodate themselves to it, and the policy that strives for peace where this is true policy. But this accommodation and this policy is not to be confounded with unity or true affinity. As far as a portion of our population is estranged from the principles of our Protestant civilization, we have to make a discount in the reckoning of our national strength and vitality. Systems, in their nature antagonistic, can not create a national structure as solid and strong as where the system is one and all

adherents of the same system. The spirit of patriotism will strive for the supremacy of the best system, and patiently bear with what can not be remedied, but never commit the mistake of supposing that mere superficialties can make up for fundamental differences.

The Catholics do not fall into this error, but it is a mistake quite generally made by Protestants. The typical Protestant has become the professed liberalist, theorist and sentimentalist. His theories are always aside from any practical issue; professing to be liberal, it is nevertheless against his faith to defend the principles of liberal thought, lest he should be suspected of having settled convictions on any subject.

If our liberal friends are aroused at all, it is generally to efforts as futile as their indifference. Spasmodic zeal that vents itself in petty annoyances, useless demonstration and noise, is not helpful to the cause. Superficial peace must be preserved in spite of fundamental differences. Efforts that disturb the peace, but do nothing to gain ground for substantial advance are worse than useless. Often in the contest the Catholics are left with a solid advantage, while the concession to Protestant sentiment is quite superficial, as for instance, the floating of a flag over a schoolhouse, a doubtful way of honoring the flag, for the old adage is that "familiarity breeds contempt." The Protestants should study the policy of the Catholic Church, and work along broad lines for actual growth and advance. Some of these will be indicated.

1. Physical and moral soundness that keeps strong and vigorous the power of reproduction and natural expansion is the fundamental. It is certain that no mere expedient could save a race of people that is physically degenerate or morally unsound. The question of race supremacy will not be decided by the sword, but by the corset, and a few other things. It is a sociological problem rather than a matter of broken heads and armaments of war.*

2. Regulation and restriction of immigration in favor of nationalities kindred to our own race and capable of assimilation would seem an obvious measure if the interests of our civilization are an object of any concern. Fully 80 per cent. of immigrants now incoming are of races and nationalities with

*For a full discussion see part 2. "The Social question in the United States."

whom the native American has no affinity nor kinship. We shall not make them ours, they will make the country theirs.

The sentiment and policy that rules us is an inheritance from the earliest times, when the country was unsettled and practically possessed by savages. It should be understood by this time that we have grown to be a nation, with rights and responsibilities as a nation. Foreign countries are not slow to remind us of our responsibilities; if their immigrants provoke harsh treatment on account of character and conduct, damages are claimed and war threatened. It is the right of America to decide what immigrants she will be responsible for, and carefully exclude those for whom she will not accept the responsibility.

The much-maligned movement of the "Know-Nothings" in the early fifties deserves attention as a significant and interesting fact in the history of our country. It would have been strange if the race in possession should have relinquished its supremacy without one grand awakening or struggle. If time, or their lack of success, has not justified all their methods, it has fully justified their apprehensions. If the brute courage that showed itself in excitement and turmoil had been pitched against an armed invasion, it would have prevailed, but it was of no avail in the physiological struggle actually before them. Nor did the awakening result in any intelligent plan to mitigate the struggle or in any way to regulate the outcome of it. Baffled and bewildered at the outset, pride remained; it now denied a danger against which it had vainly excited itself, and took such comforts as it could of the situation—the population was increasing—the country being settled, etc. Small matters these; but the population had actually increased at a greater rate before the period of heavy immigration than it has done since. If this earlier rate of increase had continued—and with plenty of room for expansion, there is no natural reason why it should not—with an immigration supporting rather than overwhelming and contradictory, we should at present have had a population of one hundred millions as homogeneous as the people of England; instead of that we have a heterogeneous population of three-fourths of that number, in which those of the race that held the country solidly sixty years ago appear as a remnant, fragmentary and scattered. That the arrestment of growth of the native race, and almost immediate abandonment

of fields of competition, was wholly due to the heavy influx of foreigners is not maintained, but it is seldom that two races of radically different characteristics are so nearly balanced in strength and endurance that both will grow and expand while occupying practically the same ground. Almost always one or the other will cease the struggle for existence, and consent to—die out. The yearly incoming of a quarter million Slavs and Latins, with their natural increase, does not mean an addition to our population that could not very well be provided without them; it means that the struggle for existence is in their favor, in so far as they find room for growth and expansion.

Some years ago a member of a foreign government openly and officiously advocated the settling in this country of foreigners *in block* that would keep them intact and save them from disintegration, as the surest means by which to undermine and destroy our institutions. It made a great stir in this country; we are easily affected by theories, but facts are studiously overlooked. The facts referred to are fully understood on the other side of the Atlantic; they are watching and wondering. The sociological struggle between races in the United States is of more interest than any campaign of battles and bloody sieges. As Americans, we are little interested; we are permitted to indulge our vanity and boast of quantity and numbers, although it may be the gain of others at our expense.

Without entering upon the question of colonies and expansion by force or conquest, it may nevertheless be suggested that our first concern should be to defend and preserve the territory within the United States against alienation. Why should our native Americans be anxious for foreign conquest, and think it worth the while to sacrifice the only boy in the family for the sake of it, while wholly unable to stem the tide of foreign aggression within their own country? Conquest of impractical people abroad is poor compensation if Americans are losing ground in the struggle for existence within their own borders. The last-named contest is by far the more important and more decisive. In so far as portions of the United States territory are occupied by people alien in race, characteristics and sentiment, incapable of nationalization and amalgamation, it is so much United States territory conquered and lost, irretrievably and permanently: conquest in a far more substantial sense than

the mere imposition of foreign government on an unwilling people. A nation conquered by force of arms may regain their liberties, but a people overcome in the struggle for existence ceases to be, and the country is forever lost to its race.

It is too late for a narrow Anglo-Saxonism. As of old, the race destined for possession has been found wanting. It has not been proof against decay on the one hand or unbridled greed and brutality on the other. We should further prove our unworthiness if we regretted on the ground of sentiment; a sentiment rooted in selfishness, capable of the worst perversions of reason and morality, should not be our final aim. There is no finality but in moral principles. It is still the principles that had their beginning in the reformation, and found expression at the birth of the Republic, that are the dominant issue in the world. Restriction of immigration along the lines of a narrow Anglo-Saxonism has nothing to recommend it, even if practicable, but along the lines of a civilization founded on these principles. Measures to maintain and defend this civilization should not be shunned to escape the charge of discrimination. To maintain principles, we must discriminate, we can have no other object in restriction, for no one opposes immigration on general ground. Enslaved minds, enthralled consciences, dominated by a foreign despotic power, narrow prejudices, race characteristics, rooted in centuries of ignorance and degrading superstition, is a real danger.

3. Some kind of organized union on the part of Protestants in the United States would naturally suggest itself in view of the compact and strong organization of the Catholics. The power of organization is more particularly noticeable in its influence on the two great forces of our civilization—our political government and the press, the representatives of which may feel no particular interest in the contest. In this case it will be natural for them to yield where pressure is brought to bear upon them, so much the more as they are dependent on votes and popular favor. During a late contest about an immigration measure, the Catholic Church was alone sufficient to defeat it, although it was undoubtedly favored by all the nation excepting. This is due to her organization. If one wishes to know the strength of an organization, and the pressure it is capable of bringing to bear, he has only to consult the politician. The weakness of Protestant organizations is evident from the

fact that our politicians do not fear them. They have a cheap way of showing their courage by openly flaunting them, and holding them up to ridicule, in congress and out. This would not be if it really took courage to do it. It is entirely different with the Catholic Church; at the mere mention of this organization all voices are hushed, all faces grow pale; they know they have here to do with an organization that has purpose, strength and votes behind it, and that it is not to be fooled or cajoled in any way.

4. A race of people that is active and strong is only limited in its increase by a limitation of the means of subsistence. Means of substance is represented by accumulations of past earnings and present opportunities to earn a living. The Catholic Church takes this fully into account. It exercises authority that prevents shirking of duties on the part of married people; but this is not enough; the young people must have chances to marry, and means to make a living. Here the help of the church is valuable. The priest is on the alert to find chances and opportunities for them; schemes of colonization and migration; local aid in every community to find employment, and at the best possible wages, that will enable young people to marry early and raise large families, is a most important function of the priest.

It is doubtful whether the Protestant churches have ever bestowed a thought, or made an effort along this line. It is their hobby to be liberal, and they give away advantages recklessly, but they will not win unless they use those they possess for the furtherance of their own cause.

Grand schemes to secure the accumulations of Protestants with which they push their propaganda are continually in process of execution. Priests, particularly fitted for the task, are sent out to work among the very rich for their conversion. It is here worth the while to make particular effort in each individual case, and they have had notable successes. Of late, American heiresses have excited great interest, and with reason, for the accumulations of this country are many, the opportunities are plenty, and there is no easier way of gaining immense results. The pope, as well as other potentates in Europe, have it in their power to bestow titles of nobility; princes and counts may be created by the wholesale; it is but a matter of a word or ceremony. They are sent over to hunt among

American heiresses, with what results need not be told. It must be acknowledged, however, that the stratagem is legitimate. Americans have no cause to complain, if they allow themselves to be fooled and plundered. Rome has never made peace, except on the field of physical contest. Every means and agency at her disposal is used for the furtherance of her interests. It is with her no desultory warfare with haphazard methods and inefficient leaders, it is a grand and constant move all along the line, and by the ablest and most experienced leaders.

5. Proselyting, conversion from one party to another, is a means or agency the importance of which has been fully recognized by both parties. Among Protestants it has been relied upon too exclusively. They compass land and sea to make one proselyte, and pay no attention to their loss of millions through failure in the struggle for existence. However, it is a factor in the contest.

Catholicism has strength peculiar to itself. Attempts by Protestants to succeed by imitation will meet with the failure of all imitators. As a system of ceremonialism or ritualism of accommodation to human nature in the popular sense of the term, Catholicism is the highest conceivable product; she is complete and perfect in this respect, and will always have the advantage of those that weakly and meanly try to imitate her.

Ritualism has its purpose and strength in the enlistment of the emotions through appeal to the five senses. The emotions, and their powers, when sufficiently aroused, may be directed for a purpose; the purpose to be served depends on the guiding hand behind it all. If there is any evidence of more than human agency in the ritual of Moses, it may be found in the measures taken to guard against abuse of the emotions: quite often it is revolting to the feelings rather than "beautiful"; severe, rather than alluring. Distinctions between "clean and unclean" is the keynote to it all. Ritualism, as a priestly device, is seductive to the understanding and conscience, its aim is to mystify and subordinate these that perfect control may be gained over the thoughts and actions of the devotee. Aside from physical force, it is always the main dependence of priestly despotism, and the gravitation is inevitably towards it where this is the tendency.

There is ground outside of Catholicism. The Protestantism

of Luther, Knox, Calvin and Wesley was a force, definite and certain, which no class of enemies would be likely in any way to discredit. There have been genuine reformations in the world, which prove that appeals on the ground of reason and higher spirituality is not a hopeless undertaking. How far Protestantism in our days is capable of making appeals on this ground that are likely to meet with response is a question for itself; but on purely religious ground, she must succeed here if at all.

Protestantism has the advantage of a better history. There is not even a Catholic country on the face of the earth but what has had to put down the Catholic Church by force or threat of force in order to gain civil and religious liberty. The history of Protestantism is the history of liberty and deliverance from tyranny and oppression. This should appeal to the instinct of liberty in the masses in behalf of Protestantism. And it is probably true that, except for the natural tyranny inherent in her, the Catholic Church could have remained supreme. Her religion takes with the average of humanity. The few that really sought truth and righteousness might have gone to the stake to the end of time, as they did for a thousand years, had her tyranny been anything less than unbearable. Outward acts compel attention, principles that underlie them are little studied or understood.

It is probably true, that, for the present and for some time to come, the ground for contest will be civil rather than religious—the ground of liberty and security. The churches are in the grip of rationalism; spiritual phenomenon has ceased. On the sea of speculation, where they have launched, the inevitable tendency is toward materialism, or an inert formalism. Theorizing and fadism find their natural reaction in absolutism. The God-consciousness of the Prophet, that begets authority and its characteristics, ceases and this is sought elsewhere; hence we have approaches toward Catholicism now as an imitation, now as a professed hope of “union of all the churches.” The weakness that is without the realization of independent resources falls naturally before the bold assertion of a successful pretension, and in its helplessness overlooks even the memory of past experience. We had once church union, one and indivisible—we had union till life, thought, light and liberty were either lost or corrupted! it took centuries

of strife and millions of martyrdoms to break the union and restore to mankind some of its lost birthrights.

The Church in those ages was but a realization of the fear now expressed in the word "monopoly," and has in this its explanation. On the one hand was poor lost humanity, with the crying necessities of its soul to be supplied; on the other hand was the one organization that owned and controlled the whole supply, visible and invisible, that alone had the right and privilege of its bestowal, to whom alone belonged the revenue, wealth, honor and power derived from it. The popular fear of a monopoly was realized in those days to a degree that has forever marked that period of time as "the dark ages."

The ideal of Christ, to which the call for union has reference, is founded on a distinction between the Church and "the world," which is not regarded nor understood even as a theory but by a few sects. The prevailing idea now, as always, is the carnal one, something of show and circumstances, with a central authority to depend on for means of salvation. Dependence on priestly devices and mechanical ways of salvation is on the increase, and has been a marked characteristic of our age. A Church founded on this conception involves worldly power and worldly interests; a union of these interests would be the old monopoly. The religious sentiment distracted between fear and selfish desires will continue to furnish occasion for worldly ambition; with its virulent passions, there is safety alone in parties fairly balanced together with the restraining power of civil government, the means by which safety has been actually secured. This is also the only guarantee that truth and spirit will not be wholly obliterated. Here and there two or three may be gathered together in the name of Christ, to whom the spirit of Christ is revealed, union of such would be safe; but life is not upon the whole on sufficiently high level to be stereotyped into an organization along this line, that would not at once evolve a tyranny dark, damning and awful, in harmony with all experience. It does not take a monopoly claiming property right in the soul and conscience of the whole human race to stir in human nature all that is malevolent and hateful in its defense.

THE SOCIAL QUESTION IN THE UNITED STATES.

In the first chapter of Exodus we have an account of the social conditions of the most civilized nation 4,000 years ago; read in the light of modern experience, it is instructive as well as suggestive.

We have before us, in the chapter mentioned, a cultured and enlightened people, but with distinct traces of weaknesses, manifesting itself in a low birthrate, and a frailty among their women that made the natural processes of child-bearing a severe ordeal, and abnormally risky. We have this people contrasted with an immigrant race, showing the opposite traits. Their women, we are distinctly told, "are not like the Egyptians," they are "lively"; are able even to dispense with the help of the midwife, without inconvenience. Moreover, they are multiplying fast, so fast, indeed, that the Egyptians became alarmed lest they should be outnumbered, and in the end crowded to the wall by the greater expansive force of the foreign race. Means were tried to prevent this, they are in a measure enslaved, and loaded with heavy burdens, but work does not kill them, they are increasing even faster. Then the male babies are slaughtered outright, a heroic measure certainly. We wonder that the Egyptians did not try assimilation; it does not appear to have been thought of by either race; perhaps divergence in type, in race characteristics and religion, did not make assimilation and amalgamation possible. A clergyman, a few years ago, in a widely circulated pamphlet, insisted that our foreign population of alien races must be "civilized" or they would go on raising large families, which would ultimately swamp the Americans. Here again, a means is hinted at which did not occur to the ancient Egyptians; the restraining or devitalizing power of civilization applied to those that were increasing too rapidly. As for our own immigrants, there is not the least doubt of its operating among them; that is, those who do not by divergence in type and race characteristics keep aloof and maintain their separate quarters in our cities and settlements in the rural districts. Those kindred to our own race, capable of assimilation and amalgama-

tion, as far as they come in contact with the native race, are speedily affected. The disposition on the part of this class of newcomers to imitate those already here is natural; the tendency rather to imitate the worse traits is proverbial. There is for this reason a double importance in the example of the older population; they may be continually dragging down with them those that they have power to assimilate and that otherwise would strengthen them. In districts where Scandinavians and Germans are interspersed among Americans, the original characteristics speedily disappear; the fresh-faced, well-developed girls that one sees in the villages of Scandinavia and Germany are looked for in vain, and we have a too common type, slim-waisted and delicate, with mottled, drawn faces, that speak of tension and strain due to various abuses, and largely to the compression of the body by corset, belt and other devices for that purpose. Where they live apart in large settlements they are "civilized" less rapidly. Where they are wholly kept aloof, centuries may not effect this change. The French Canadians, with their separate communities, are maintaining a birthrate of thirty-eight per thousand of population! while in Ontario, which has been thoroughly Americanized, we have the low rate of twenty. The extremes in the United States are further apart than this; the birthrates of the native race, excepting the mountainous regions of the South, vary but little, fifteen in a thousand of population is what is indicated by published statistics and private information. In countries like the United States and Canada, where a contest for supremacy between different races and nationalities exists, the facts connected with the birthrate and general vitality of the various races have a significance which it is necessary only to indicate.

As we study the evolution of society from the earliest dawn of history, what strikes us most forcibly is the lack of it, so to speak. A repetition and similarity of cause and effect, producing the same general results, is the most distinguishing feature. It may fairly be said to be as much a problem now as it was four thousand years ago, how to produce a civilization that will develop manhood and womanhood, evenly well-balanced, and make the accumulations of wealth, knowledge and experience subject to this end. The failure has been conspicuous, and it is largely the failure of human nature to make anything but a grossly selfish use of advantages.

In part, it is a natural tendency to extremes in some particular direction, of which the danger is less when life is on a simpler and safer leved, as witness our present extravagant estimate of book-learning, from which especially women suffer. We have come to glory in achievements outside of lines natural to their life and work, rather than fitness for this, as indispensable to the welfare or even existence of society. We boast of ability to stand the strain and exult in examples of unusual attainments, and youth will endure wonderfully, and surprising results be obtained when everything is bent in one direction; but it is no longer necessary to prove that this straining after an aim, that for the most part has no practical purpose, but the mere boast of having attained, is always at the expense of nerve-force and bodily vitality that unfits them for the more serious and practical purposes of life.

The mental strain and confined sedentary life in the school-room is in too many instances immediately followed by the equally strained, confined and sedentary life at the desk in the various capacities in which women are now employed; and this, generally, at an age of immaturity, when growth, strength and development of body must fail, without exercise of a varied and healthy character. Undeveloped and unaccustomed, they are unequal to the demand upon their physical strength to which they must inevitably be subjected, if called upon to perform the functions and work natural to a woman's life; and we have a cause for the general complaint of "overwork" on the part of American women, although they do less work than those of any other nation. It is not wholly a fault of disposition, when a body is without strength or knowledge of work; it is overworked if required to work at all. Work, even in a factory, where modern machinery has reduced work to a monotonous repetition of the same motion, is not to be compared with housework, with its varied occupations, in every attitude of the body, bringing into play every muscle and exercising every part. Housework, interspersed with work in the garden, or light outdoor chores, as aforesaid was customary, brought women to a perfection of physical development now rarely seen.

Lack of nerve force and bodily vigor, due to a variety of causes, produces a condition of physical inability in which the instinct of self-preservation becomes very pronounced, and will appear as an exaggerated form of selfishness and cowardice.

The little life and strength possessed is all needed for mere individual existence; there is not that overflow of health, power and spirit necessary for the production and maintenance of new lives dependent upon them. Withal, and even where the physical powers have not been impaired, self-consciousness, cultivated to an extreme, shrinks from the hard facts of life; healthy instincts and natural affections are overborne by cold deliberations of selfishness.

It may be counted a problem whether "life is worth living;" it may be a question about the world and the human race, but there can be no question about strength and virtue. We may honor those that stand by a principle, even if it be false, but vice, weakness, disease and puerility are never so regarded. Our latest development of civilization does not invite judgment on the ground of principles; its aim is too selfish to include even the amount of care and responsibility necessary to the highest enjoyment. The ephemeral pleasures by which nature beguiles the irrational creation into the propagation of the species are lusted after with effeminate propensity, and it has become an art or science how to indulge and evade the end designed. The secrets of nature are sought out, and the knowledge gained is used to cheat her of some of her rewards without fulfilling her nobler purposes. At what cost, let the nations and civilizations that have perished in their corruption tell.

One should fairly have hoped that intellectual development and culture, by which capacity for higher enjoyment is gained, would have resulted in a lessening of dependence on the mere passional as a means of enjoyment; but such does not appear upon the whole to be the case. In the earlier ages of the world, and in primitive society, we find the fact of life emphasized, rather than the evanescent pleasures connected with it. The glory and joy of having children was paramount and predominated over the mere sensual pleasures connected with their propagation. We find this illustrated repeatedly in the lives of the patriarchs, in men and women alike; examples and utterances are so numerous that quotations are unnecessary. It has been reserved for these latter days of evolution and progress to reverse the process; the means is desired with lustful effeminacy, and the end feared and evaded by all the resources of scientific and popular knowledge.

The same tendency finds a further illustration in the means used to gain the end of marriage. Our boasted "love matches" are effected by practices that promise as little of happiness and stability as is generally realized. Is it that our social life, customs and education tend so little to the development of the practical, the useful and really beautiful in life and character that dependence on the passional has become so dangerous and degrading? One might wish that the mere business view of marriage was made more prominent for the sake of relieving this abnormal dependence. The nobler view of marriage, with its grave responsibilities is lost sight of, so are health, beauty, modesty and usefulness, that should answer to the higher purposes. As is inevitable, an inferior quality exaggerated does not produce results as desired, but failure only increases the tendency, flirtation becomes more desperate, witchery, for sensual effect, more heartless, the dress is cut lower, the corset or belt squeezed tighter. Girls, the offspring of corset-killed mothers already diminutive, frail, and delicate, are further reduced, and their little life squeezed out of them by this practice.

It is not to be supposed that this expression of a woman's passions—extravagant, distorted and suicidal, is wholly a matter of depravity; it is largely due to the fact that our peculiar customs and sentiments repress a frank and honest expression. The girls are taught they must tease and fool and flirt; they must deny with their tongue, and the consequence is that they express the more extravagantly by their manner.

A woman would not dare to express in words a twentieth part of what is expressed by such a contrivance as the corset. If the full significance of the ingenuity and zeal exerted was perceived, could men and women look each other in the face; perhaps we may not doubt that, but if the effrontery is sufficient, why may not an understanding be arrived at without going these enormous lengths? Why these body and soul-destroying practices to gain a result so simple and well-defined? What measure of success is in it has to be attained on the presumption that men are equally devoid of sense and good taste. The presumption is mostly a blunder; the destruction of health and good looks is too great to work for success, even from the lowest point of view. The Spartan lawgiver employed a means far more effective, and it did not destroy the health and beauty of their women, and likely affected their modesty no

worse; there was a frank avowal of the purpose, and it was part of a consistent and well-ordered system. Our modern civilization should be ashamed of the clumsiness of its methods, if not of the damage entailed. As a contrivance for a purpose the corset would discredit the lowest intellectual type of mankind; it does its work badly, and does it at an enormous risk and sacrifice. That the idea of enhanced beauty has nothing to do with it is easily proved, for even in our days a sculptor who should take the wasp-waisted shape as his model for physical beauty would be laughed to scorn, and that by the very ones who practice tight lacing.

Some two or three centuries ago the dress of the gentlemen rivaled that of the ladies in extravagance, in finery and foolish display; there has been great improvement in the way of simplicity and comfort. If the men should squeeze themselves into the wasp-waisted shape, the effect would be less deadly; it would incapacitate them for serious or sustained exertion as it does the women, but in these latter the organs that are damaged are more complex; they include those that belong to the prenatal life of the child, as well as the vital organs of the individual. It is not to be expected or even desired that a woman's dress should attain to the same degree of simplicity as that of the man; but it may well be demanded that health, beauty, modesty, usefulness and posterity shall not be sacrificed for a mere display of wantonness. It is noticeable that the scriptures take cognizance of this weakness in women—a readiness to sacrifice everything to what is uppermost in her mind, and make her subject to what ought to be the firmer will and wiser mind of the men. If patriotic and manly men have obeyed the scriptural injunction of “ruling well their own households” could these things be? But it has become true of us as was said in derision of the Israelites at one period of their history, “children are their oppressors and women rule over them;” and as always, when we try to improve on the sentiments and precepts of the Bible, the result has been in an eminent degree disastrous. It is the prerogative and duty of men to save women from their weakness—if they fail in this, the whole race bears the penalty.

Sentiment and pride will not avert punishment if the laws are broken. Far-reaching effects, with which we have mostly to deal, are general deterioration, decadence, extinction. Local

or immediate effects are diseases, distressing and loathsome, ordinarily common to a class of persons not to be named. The reference is not to the grosser forms of contagious venereal diseases, but to ailments generally designated "feminine weaknesses," "female complaints" etc., which furnish the medical profession of this country, regular and irregular, with more than half of its practice. These ailments do not often kill, although cancer, a natural termination, is becoming alarmingly prevalent. But more generally the subject, always a physical wreck, drags out a long existence, a burden to herself and those on whom she is dependent. The organs peculiar to the female sex are so much the center of her physical being, that the effect of any abuse or irregularity is apt to center here, from whence it reacts on the whole body. Some of the abuses bear directly upon these organs; compression of the waist causes abnormal growths and deformities, obstructs circulation, causes congestion and laceration of vessels that hold blood, lymph and serum, which overflow, inflame, and finally escape as unnatural issues or discharges. Abuses of other kinds will produce similar effects and aggravate the trouble. Social dissipation, late hours, irregular habits, overstudy, mental and emotional strain, etc., scatter nerve force and vitality, and make resistance to disease and recuperation hopeless. It may be considered part of the scheme of divine retribution, as it is the idea of sexuality, in a degraded form, that for the most part hovers around these perversions, so it is the sexual organs that principally are struck by these diseases, which make a woman—and man for that matter in a like case—at once incapable and disgusting to the other sex. And so they fail in the very respect for which they are inclined to sacrifice everything.

The somewhat exclusive attention paid to one sex in this discussion of a subject that pertains to both is not due to any preconceived arrangement, but to the plain circumstance that the young men are not nearly as much a factor in the problem. In the North, where the condition is more general, the young men are mostly of foreign importation or extraction. Few boys are found in native American families, and of these a large percentage are "submerged" in the process of their career. But the typical American girl is not only found in American families, she reproduces her type in girls among immigrants kindred to her own race. The example of the native Ameri-

can boy, whatever it may be, has no great effect upon young men of foreign extraction, but women are imitative, and the example of the native American girl dominates her sex, except among races and nationalities that keep aloof.

The purposes of a nation are mostly of a practical nature; what may be viewed otherwise has its root in the practical, and can not long exist without it. There must be physical development and strength, and moral earnestness to answer the purposes. Mental and emotional culture, intensive and exclusive, may produce interesting specimens, curiosities and oddities, which may satisfy the superficial sentiment largely responsible for the product; but a nation can not live and subsist on mere whimsicalities and oddities. In the economy of nature, woman is a necessity; the vitality and strength of a race depends on her even more than the man, for she is meant to furnish the physical basis for growth and development to a greater extent. In the animal world, the human species included, the female is abundantly supplied with strength and energy for all the functions pertaining to her sex; niggardliness and precariousness, even to a degree of total inability, is the product of civilization. Where society is natural and vigorous, woman takes the place that naturally belongs to her, she fits it and fills it, excites no distinctive interest or concern, and there is no "woman's question." As the deeper sentiments, decay, rant and extravagance increase, as legitimate uses become impracticable, vagaries of all sorts flourish; the tribute of weak manhood becomes the nourishment of unworthy womanhood. We may be content to look at woman from a mere sentimental point of view, and if facts are shown or objections made, quote poetry and talk sentiment, but the incense of adoration with which we involve her will not save her from the discriminating process of the laws of nature. The slim-waisted, delicate type of woman is the death of any race that depends upon her in the struggle for existence. Much attention has been paid to this subject as a theory; it is surprising that no attention is being paid to its actual operation among us as a fact. As a race, what does it profit us that we have

wealth, learning, genius, ambition, aspirations, when notwithstanding all this we are in a dying condition for want of sufficient physical basis, or moral stamina to maintain it.

Gallantry would save its divinity from the imputation of flaws or faults, but it is not a question of flaws or faults; more is at stake than a flimsy sentiment. Our foreigners possess the true sentiment of patriotism; it is not with them a mere matter of self-gratification or self-glorification; they raise large families and take an intelligent interest in the future of the country. It is a serious question with them—what is to be the future of a population of which their offspring is to form an important part. Our native Americans care for their country only as it ministers to their pride; they boast of its greatness and glory, but what is the United States to them if it be given over into the hands of alien races, with whom they have no affinity or kinship? It is often asserted as though a matter to be taken for granted that the Northern races of people will outlive and outdo those of a Southern clime; but nature is no respecter of preconceived notions; the migration of the nations at present is from the South towards the North; three-fourths of the immigrants arriving in this country are from southern and central Europe. Their spread is due to a higher birthrate and greater vitality; the final settlement of population in this country will, if the present tendency continues, find them in possession. They will keep apart and be saved from the damaging example of the native race, while those kindred to that race will follow it.

The reform forces have gathered against the liquor traffic, and the agitation against the drink-habit has become popular. But there are evils that strike more directly and effectually at the root of the tree of life. The native population of Maine, notwithstanding prohibition, is in a state of decrepitude, the birthrate lower than that of any community of which we have record, French Canadians fast taking possession of the State. The early Americans, although by no means teetotalers, were wonderfully strong and virile; in spite of massacres and lurking savages everywhere, they multiplied amazingly; filled the Eastern States from Maine to Florida; spread their homes through the dark forests of the South to the Mississippi and beyond; crossed the northern mountains and filled the Ohio valley. But a change came; like a forest suddenly stricken by

a blight, the branches began to drop, the leaves to wither, growth was arrested.

The facts in the foregoing teach that a people may stand a great deal in the way of disorders and irregularities as long as the women do not become seriously involved; for the dependence on them as mothers there is no compensation or substitute. Whims and weaknesses of women, seeming trifles, may destroy a race as war, famine and pestilence together could not do. In many communities throughout the country there are practically nothing but elderly people and old maids left of the native population, the mountainous regions of the South alone being exempt, and how long will it be before this reserve of early strength and vigor, too, will fall before the advance of—civilization? There have been cases like ours in the history of the world, but for rapidity of process nothing that quite equals it. In France, where a like condition has obtained, though less aggravated, the people have risen with a noble patriotism to combat the evil, and have accomplished much in that direction. Our national characteristic prevents any such consummation of zeal; a condition, that in any other country would arouse to earnest efforts, both on the part of Church and State, is here viewed helplessly; if attention is called to it, the only answer is a cry of pain, and earnest attempts to cover up defects. Of former strength and glory we have left our pride, supersensitive as any disease. The desperate question with us is not about race or country, but to save—our feelings. We have nourished our vanity till there is no heart to look facts in the face. Accustomed to the assertion of proud superiority of taking things for granted in our own favor, the task of rising to the occasion of honest investigation, frank confession and earnest reformation is an arduous one; and even now, after the long and fatal delay, it would scarcely be more than a “dying repentance,” but it would go far to save that portion of the newer population, kindred to our own race, that is following in our footsteps, and perhaps the final subversion of our civilization.

For more than a generation, while this condition has obtained, it has been left for individuals now and then to lift up a voice of indignation, protest and warning. Of organized efforts there has been none, nor upon the whole has there been any improvement. There have been secret knowledge and

eager catching at reassuring flatteries, squirmings and fitful outbursts, but there has never been the ability to assume a frank and practical attitude with regard to the condition. It will take combined and determined efforts by all the leading forces of our civilization to save it. Among these the church should be foremost when it is a question to deal with a moral evil; but the church people have been leaders in demoralization, and the churches are implicated by their example and silence. The principal Protestant denominations come together at their yearly conferences, and have to face the fact that membership and Sunday-school children not only fail to keep pace with the growing population, but are actually dwindling in numbers where they have to depend on the native race exclusively, the figures of the general whole being kept up alone by work among foreigners. They cast about for causes seemingly, and are careful not to mention the cause. There is neither courage nor honesty to state the plain truth that there are not enough children raised among them to keep up the Sunday-schools; that the membership in the churches is growing old, and no new generation, worthy the name, has been provided to take its place. The meetings proceed with a pathetic repetition of old platitudes about "renewed zeal," "work for the Lord," and "building up the church;" of vices that are destroying the foundation for growth and development nothing is said. They wind up by passing their stereotyped resolution about Sabbath observance; of their own lack of observance of the most vital laws of God and nature, we hear nothing. These representatives of a dying remnant feel authorized to instruct the great growing mass of foreigners that, with vigor of mind and body, are crowding them aside and taking their places. Let them first realize the situation, and have the courage to face it, and after that they may be able to take measures to arrest decay, and "to strengthen the things which remain." On the surface, we have church respectability, ambitious plans, zeal for work, and everything apparently in working order; at the bottom is this dark flood of iniquity, undermining the very foundation of our race and civilization, so we may actually see it sink and disappear. What wonder we now hear that the churches have "ceased to believe in the Bible." Faith in the Bible is not a comfortable matter, considering the facts in the case. Nor is there any flattering comparison between the grand heroes of

the Bible and clergymen who look at the disintegration of the church and their race and dare do nothing, for there would be a flutter of hysteria and excitement if the nests of evil were stirred. Yet we are informed that our liberal Christians have discarded faith and theology in order to attend to practical questions; but the condition among our heterodox or extreme liberal churches is as bad as anywhere, and as little attended to. With proselyting efforts enough to convert the world, they have not gained one-tenth as much as they could have gained from natural increase had they been true to the laws of nature, of which they have much to tell us. On the other hand we know of a very orthodox, and by no means liberal church, that does attend to the subject in a practical manner, and attends to it very effectually, too, within her own fold. If the Roman inquisition, with its rack and thumb-screw, had been to work among us these many years, they could scarcely have reduced the native Protestant population as it has been by its own demoralized condition. As was said by a Roman ecclesiastic in England, "it is not necessary for us to do anything, they (the Ritualists) are doing it for us far more effectually than we can do," so it may be said here, although the way it is done is different.

As the church has failed, so has science.

A condition that in the course of two generations has lowered the birthrate among our native American race from 40 to 15 in a thousand of population would make an interesting study for our sociologists. It is never a mere accident, but a process due to causes that touch life on many points, intellectually, morally and physically. How much the shrinking in our native population is due to the pressure of an enormous immigration; or whether or not the heavy influx of foreigners is rather on account of a vacuum or voluntary contraction of our home population; or at least, a lack of stamina to compete in the struggle for existence. The cause of this: its beginning, perhaps, the evolution of some sentiment or new mode of thought; how much may have been contributed to it by the spread of a mere notion, with accompanying changes in habits and customs. Causes and effects, acting and reacting hastening the process down to our day. Its final result, its effect upon the destinies of the nation and the world at large. But our

sociologists are busy with their theories, there is not even a hint of anything practical in their efforts with reference to the conditions that threaten our race and civilization.*

The papers are not always neutral. A Southern daily speaks feelingly in an editorial about the glory of the Anglo-Saxon race, and its prospects in the contest with the negro for possession of the South; in another column it advertises means and medicines for killing of the white babies before they are born. If all are not thus guilty, next the deadliest thing is advertised generally. Nearly all have their fashion department, the standard is always the ultra-fashionable, wasp-waisted shape. These papers go into even the humblest homes, and what girl does not love to be in the fashion. She may not be able to get the richer material out of which to make dresses, but it costs nothing to squeeze the waist an inch or two tighter even than her more favored sisters. A nation may afford to allow a limited number, styled "society" to kill themselves with fashion and folly, but when it permeates all classes—and the poor will do worse as imitators,—

It may be questioned how far our popular form of government is in its nature fitted to deal with questions of this sort; but there is no question, on general principles, that it comes within the province of government to deal with them. The leading aim of our party government and secular press, both leading forces in our civilization, is *success* in the popular and material sense. However, it is only up to a certain point that our professed materialist can ignore moral issues. The moral or social question at a certain stage becomes political and personal, it becomes a question of self-preservation and patriotism,

* The appeal contained in this paragraph, together with a task fairly mapped out, has not, after the lapse of nearly three years, met with any response. What follows should not be considered a performance of the task, but the coming sociologist and historian may find some hints in it.

Sociology, in its practical aspect, is a study of social developments, and in effort to guide them. The idea of it as a general scheme, or system of laws, is circumscribed by the moral agency of man's free will, which is to be reckoned with. Revolution is more than evolution in these developments, much can be learned only a history. Sociology has to do with the present, what may be learned to its advantage from the past, and what may be seen immediately ahead of us. Interest naturally concentrates on lines that converge towards final results or some kind of completion, be it decay and dissolution, internal conflicts, a life or death struggle between races—sociologically, war is a matter for the historian; so also are the general results of a sociological study, as illustrated in one of the chapters.

"As the church has failed, so has science." The thought here is not of sociology exclusively. Nearly all the sciences have some reference to humanity and its well-being. But, aside from what is technical, scientists are among our representative people, and Science is the Braggard of the age; a threatened disaster to a civilized race should not find them silent. The extinction of such a race should receive as much attention as the fossil of an extinct animal. If life itself is at stake, it would not be impertinent even to confine our attention to it, at least till the crisis is past.

and the dictates of self-interest and natural instinct will demand interference. The question of country is not identical with that of population and the ground we tread upon; all races and nationalities of the earth stand ready to fill the vacant places, to make up a population, and they will think the ground worth occupying. The supply from northern Europe has failed, but that of the Slavs and Latins is inexhaustible. It is not a question of population, it is our race, civilization, life and principles that are at stake.

THE FITTEST TO SURVIVE.

Nations and peoples crystallize around their ideals, their creeds and beliefs, which give them characteristics, direction and momentum. Those nations and peoples that have ideals and faith in common have ground for union and for oneness of purpose, which may be depended on in any final struggle for predominance to keep them together and make them practically one.

The divisions of the world represented by these different ideals or creeds are as follows: The Mohammedan, the Roman Catholic, the Greek Catholic, the Protestant and the Pagan.

Nations that retain their original vigor or vitality, with nothing to interfere with them, will double their population every forty years, possibly in twenty-five or thirty; the question of their final numbers is merely a question of sustenance, of the ground they have got, or may be able to get, to occupy.

In measuring the strength of these divisions, we must not only take into account their present numbers, but the ground they have in reserve, the room they have for actual expansion; mere imposition of rule does not count.

The Pagan faith of Confucius or Buddha, with sects allied, have about seven hundred million followers in two grand divisions. The ground they have is practically all occupied; they can not expand much without gaining ground from others. This will be prevented, for nations will learn to guard against "friendly invasion."

The other divisions are better off with regard to reserve ground. The Mohammedans have the least, but will be able to expand considerably, with the help of civilization. They have also shown themselves successful in expanding among people not yet dominated by a distinct ideal. Their numbers are about two hundred millions.

The Greek Catholics, represented by the Russian Empire, are over one hundred millions, not counting those held subject of opposing creeds. But they hold ground in reserve for several times their present numbers. At their rate of increase they will swell their numbers to four hundred millions, within their own borders, in less than a hundred years.

Some six millions of the Anglo-Saxon race are held in subjection by Russia. They should be delivered while the Anglo-Saxon race and the civilized world has strength to do it. Western civilization will need all her forces when Russia shall threaten Europe with four hundred millions of her own race, not to mention her prospects of enlisting twice that number of Asiatics in her service, something the civilized world may well do what it can to forestall.

The Catholic faith has two hundred and seventy million followers, with considerable reserve territory yet to occupy, notably in South and Central America, where there is room for several hundred millions more. Great success has also been achieved in the struggle for existence on the ground of brute endurance, by which ground has been gained in North America.

The Protestant ideal has a following of 140 millions; reserve territory mostly in North America, to a considerable extent alienated.

The ideals of the three divisions—Greek, Mohammedan and Catholic—are the same in character: despotic, autocratic and world-wide in pretention. By accident, they are divided. It is well for the world to have it continue so.

In each case it is the supposed kingdom of God merged with worldly interests and political power. The world-wide pretention, or claim to world-wide dominion, is not, therefore, a mere ambition, but the claim of the system to be enforced with all means available by those true to it. Involved in it is war to the end of time, or the end of the systems, circumscribed only by necessity or want of means.

The Protestant ideal, identified with the Anglo-Saxon race, is that of personal right and liberty. If not always the purest conception, yet always the prevailing idea. Some nations, not Protestant or Anglo-Saxon, have a measure of liberty achieved with violence to their system, and in opposition to it. Liberty, here, is a precarious matter; it involves a standing quarrel with the system, as we have it in fact; it is always a question which is to be uppermost.

The position of the Anglo-Saxon race is unique in this respect, and it is of peculiar significance when the other divisions have been able to encroach on her reserve territory, and appropriate a large share. The significance is emphasized when this appropriation has gathered momentum and is going on

at an ever-increasing rate. All the increase in the Northern States may at present be placed to the credit of alien races; theirs are both the immigrants and the large families.

The reserve territories of Russia and the United States are comparable in extent and value; the manner of settling and developing nearly the same down to 1850. Since then the contrast has been marked.

Imagine half a million Italians and Austrians pouring into Russia yearly, and possessing themselves of her territory. Imagine foreigners for the last sixty years pouring in at this rate occupying her reserve territory! Russia is settling her reserve territory by her own people exclusively, and doing it at a faster rate than we, by turning it over to an alien population.

Why should we be particularly eager to have all our reserve territory occupied? Why should we be very anxious to have all our natural resources "developed" out of existence? A crowded population with no reserve territory means ugly problems; it means suffering; with alien immigration it means a struggle of races. As the Americans had no foresight to prevent this, so they had no strength to endure it—they had a theory.

The theory of the survival of the fittest became popular with Darwin. That the fittest will survive is not in itself a theory, it is a fact; but our notion of the fittest to survive may be a theory, and a very faulty one. Americans thought at once they knew what it meant: it meant a schoolhouse on every hill-top, a college in every town; it meant learning, refinement, culture, the latest fashion for the women, including the corset and some new sentiment to match it. That the race became sickly, began to dwindle and die while developing fitness along these lines, did not for a moment stagger faith in it. There is nothing like an infallible theory; an infallible book is nothing to it.

Nature has no respect for sentiment or fine feeling unless it falls in with her general scheme: life and its continuance. Much that we depended on did not; some of it might have served to embellish the superstructure, but became mischievous when put in the place of the fundamental, or cultivated at the expense of it. Book-learning, culture, the latest fashions, etc., had no chance in a contest with brute strength and domestic sentiment to match.

Some Americans are congratulating the country on the acquisition of this strength. It is more proper to congratulate those people on the acquisition of the country. Congratulations belong to the victor, not to the vanquished. But there is not in the qualities exhibited the highest reason for congratulations, even if we are so unselfish as to wholly forget ourselves. The lion and the tiger survive in the jungle, but there are nobler and more useful animals. The qualities needed are scarcely even of so high an order as those required on a field of battle, though it be but physical courage. The Chinese will not meet civilization on a field of battle, but will conquer civilization in a struggle for survival by brute endurance and sheer persistence. The native American was a strong race up to the time of the change—perhaps as strong a race as ever existed—but there are other considerations.

It is a struggle for existence in which the fittest to struggle survive, no matter how undesirable they may be otherwise.

In our days we may look for a rapid increase of people who have preserved their natural vigor. What used to kill them in olden time—war, pestilence and famine—has been largely eliminated. Famine will operate as a difficulty in obtaining sustenance. So high a premium will be put on exertion that the delicate, the refined, the fastidious and weak will not pay it. When the mass of common people become such, and are easily crowded out of existence, they leave a peculiarly inviting field for the foreigner. The Latin, Slav, Celt and South German might have immigrated to South America, where there is room for hundreds of millions, and where their own faith, standards and ideals reign supreme. But it is easier to take possession of a country where everything is made ready for them than to subdue the wilderness. Americans conquered the wilderness at great risk and sacrifice. The aliens are conquering the Americans and the finished country without any trouble to themselves.

The Anglo-Saxon race might well consider the advisability of getting off the earth altogether, rather than to leave here a weak remnant. It will be hard on that weak remnant some day, for the other party does not believe in persuasion as much as in force.

But representatives of our race come to our rescue with another theory. It is that of evolution. It does not matter just

what it may mean; it is sufficient to know that the whole scheme is entirely in our favor, and works with the regularity and certainty of clockwork for our survival, without regard to fitness or means to an end. But if a hitch should occur, it will not now much matter, for we are nearing the age of universal peace and brotherhood; human nature has softened in sympathy towards all; the horrors of the middle ages could not be reproduced.

Just as this was thought settled we began to hear of people being tortured and burned alive around in the country, North and South, while multitudes of the foremost race and civilization stood around and gloated over the agony of their victims, just as in the middle ages. It was the spirit of fanaticism; the spirit of race or creed antagonism. It is the same in all ages, and will always go to the same extreme whenever there is occasion or opportunity.

The kingdoms of this world belong to Christ. The pope is his vice-regent. He is supreme. As true as the spiritual is above the temporal, and God above man, so is he, the representative of God and the spiritual world, above all earthly institutions, governments, kings and potentates. This is not only a high ideal, but the realization of it is exceedingly profitable. The church is the repository of the truth that saves the world, and must not be liberal towards error. There is connected with the spiritual monopoly worldly interests of immense magnitude: revenue, honor, power, dominion; she can not be disposed to be liberal towards a competitor. There is this double reason why the church can not be liberal: Her selfish interests are not only not contradicted by her spiritual aspirations, but are fortified by them. Her worldly interests and her highest obligations pull in the same direction. We appeal to the conscience of a commercial monopolist to be liberal, and are consistent; we appeal in the same way to the church, and immediately remind her of her obligation not to be liberal. There is embraced in her monopoly both the kingdoms of this world and of the world to come, and we ask her to be liberal towards a competitor when every voice, both of her self-interest and spiritual aspirations demands that she shall not be liberal.

As the church lives up to her principles, so she lives up to her opportunities for the enforcement of her principle. These opportunities comprehend all that is within the range of hu-

man possibilities, restricted only by policy or necessity. The church has never allowed that she is to be confined to persuasion if force is available. A commercial monopoly within a state is considered in the nature of a usurpation and against public policy; the church claims hers as a natural and divine right; she may not only not be considered illiberal in not allowing competitors, but must be accepted in her exclusiveness under pain of severest penalties. She is, therefore, consistent in considering herself persecuted if she is not allowed to persecute.

The interests of the lay members are not in every way identical with those of the authorities. Worldly interests involved do not extend to them. They are, however, wholly excluded from any voice in the conduct of the church; as they do not make her principles, so they do not regulate her policy. With the lay members it may sometimes be a question between their own interests and those of the authorities. Hence we have dissensions between the two. But the lay people can not dissent in any way without endangering their souls' salvation according to their own avowed faith. This checks dissension, and, indeed, wholly prevents it, except when conditions become desperate. Connected with the system is the inevitable tendency of every despotism. This has lead the members to restrain the authorities even at the risk of their spiritual interests. Sometimes, as lately in the Philippines, opposition becomes pronounced because abuses become violent; a desirable possession, a beautiful wife or daughter—dungeons, torture, death; supreme authority can never fail of ways or means. In spite of all such possibilities, however, to ask even Catholic lay-members to be liberal is to ask a great deal, to expect it is presumption; we ask them to endanger their souls' salvation according to their own faith. Dependence on liberality that involves such unnaturalness is a precarious sort; it is always a question what will predominate, spiritual fear or fear of oppression. In countries like Germany and the United States, where Protestant government curbs the system and prevents excess, leaving little ground for quarrels and dissensions between the priests and the people, these become peculiarly devout, and are ready to suffer, bleed and die for the church and her authorities.

The principles of the Reformation, Protestantism, embodies

the protest against the monopoly, its spiritual errors and worldly interests. If the Anglo-Saxon race and civilization has any standing, it stands for a continuance of this work of the Reformation, its principles and purposes. Aside from this it has no work or mission, its individuality is extinguished, it is merged with the rest, and we are back to where we were before the struggle for light and advancement. In so far as it is pushed aside, crowded down and out in the struggle for existence, it is overcome, defeated and vanquished. In so far as representatives of other races find an entrance on our ground and territory to occupy it, they have gained and conquered that much ground and territory, whether it be to the extent of one individual, half a million, twenty or more millions, it is so much taken from us and our strength, and so much added to theirs. The name and form of government is nominal and changeable to the extent that it is not representative, and cuts no figure in the final estimate.

MORALITY AND MARRIAGE.

Immorality is not necessarily the first cause of deterioration in a people. It may be foolish fashion, mistaken notions, luxurious, idle living, enervation and effeminacy, all of which certainly favor immorality; lapses from virtue become frequent, and is aggravated by a desire to shift the burdens and responsibilities of life. All of this may exist in a greater or less degree consistent with the maintenance of the conventional forms of propriety and public avowal of social and moral obligations. These obligations are well defined, and do not include what is mentioned in the first part of this paragraph, but extend to the sexual relation in so far as it is a question of marriage and its regulations. What affects this is the business of society, and disadvantages in this respect may be discussed with propriety.

Failure of marriage is not considered so much a sin as failing to marry. When men and women, properly qualified, fail to marry, it is rightly considered that society and the race has suffered a loss.

A people with normal conditions, simple habits, no artificialities to hamper or retard, has not enough failures of this sort to hinder its growth. The advantage is appreciable in a rivalry between races.

Poverty, barring its tendency to produce tramps and vagabonds, is but little responsible for failure. Poor people, with small ambition and few prospects, are probably, of all, the most apt and ready to marry. Erratic temperament and inordinate ambition, especially when coupled with slender means and small abilities, is often the cause of tardiness and failure.

Lack of attractions. Our habits, fashions and customs are not calculated to produce beauty of face or form. Lack of health and vitality from the same cause: The prospect of doctor-bills is enough to frighten many.

Lapses from virtue on the part of men can scarcely be counted against marriage, as women do not seriously object. In proportion, however, as dissipation becomes ruinous, there is destruction of legitimate results of marriage amounting to the same.

The same tendencies on the part of young women counts against marriage, for men seriously object. Its extreme form, public prostitution, accounts for failures, for those seduced are generally the attractive and physically fit, of which class there are not enough for legitimate purposes.

Lack of confidence, due to general lack of character: Unless there is something to inspire confidence we are loth to commit life and honor to another's keeping.

Lack of facilities for arrangement: Too many artificialities and cumbersome trivialities.

Unwillingness should not be considered a cause. That would be a reflection on the ways of nature. The difficulty exists in the artificialities of society, not in individuals. Schemes for taxing to incline to willingness are therefore irrelevant.

Barring a very few, therefore, whose work and mission makes the distractions of domestic ties undesirable, failures are due either to lack of persons fit for marriage, or want of facilities to suit all cases. Either way, society should consider the remedy.

Difficulties due to lack of fitness and attractiveness involve reforms of moral and physiological import. Customs and artificialities bearing upon arrangement are mere matters of form, and reform has no import beyond that of better facilities.

We are undoubtedly more burdened with artificialities than any other people. Our opposites in this respect, the Orientals, take no chances with a passion in which is involved so much risk to life and morals. Even among us, with our phlegmatic temperament, the scramble for the best girls causes half the murders and suicides committed. The risk to morals is a larger question, and not to be dismissed lightly.

It is true that in those Eastern countries the girls are bought and sold, but they are kept fresh and clean for the purchasers. They are not allowed to become shop-worn, or second-handed. Here, we have too much borrowing for experimental purposes; one should be able to decide whether or not he wants a piece of goods without too much handling. It is not fair to the one who is finally expected to take it.

In society, the girls are fairly guarded up to the time of their debut. Outside, a keen rivalry exists, the girls are

pushed at an early age; young men, without character or responsibility, often allowed to run about with them alone by day and night. Our system places great dependence upon character and self-restraint. Character should be maintained or the system modified. It also depends much on opportunities and accidents; in nine out of ten love-stories results are brought about by accident, often bordering on the miraculous. So important a matter should not be left so much to accident; the bargain-counters of the East score another advantage. If natural selections, personal choice and ripening acquaintance is the way, opportunities must be afforded; and, considering the importance of the matter, it is not too much if, for the time being, it be made a study, or even a main business. But the end must be kept in view, and the value of opportunities and methods tested by results. If liberties and misplaced confidence tends to discredit the girls and accustom the young men to license, it is not productive of desirable results, and it becomes a question of safer and more effective proceedings. A mode of waltzing has come into vogue that requires the man to clasp his partner to his bosom in a regular embrace while waltzing. It is well if the woman is his own; otherwise it is pushing things hard along lines of least resistance, where victory is of little value. The inducements offered are of no higher character than at the bargain-counter of the East, where risk of damage by indiscriminate handling is eliminated, and facilities afforded for business-like procedure, which is an object with men who do not naturally take to artificialities and ceremony. It will be allowed that there is more than one way of doing a thing. Jacob falls in love with Rachel, works and waits for her seven years. Isaac sends his trusted servants to find him a wife, and the ideal marriage among the Patriarchs is the result. In some countries, common sense is resorted to when the game fails; among us, this is insisted on with rigidity; it is the form, and it is amazing to what an extent a woman will sacrifice the main issue for the sake of a mere form.

If the natural climax of intimacy between the young was determined as such by law, our easy ways with them would assume an aspect of consistency. In the old countries, when a young man has undue advantage of a girl, as a rule, he mar-

ries her. Here, the accepted rule among young men is precisely the opposite; he leaves her. What is left the girl? Shame or a crime. In Europe she gives birth to her baby; in America she goes to a doctor. Doubtless, we have in this a cause for the introduction and prevalence of criminal abortion, among married women as well as unmarried. When two people of opposite sexes mingle their blood and life, they are married. Marriage in fact should be invested with all the obligations of marriage; no easy escape for a young man to leave the girl in the lurch with a baby. He has committed matrimony; she is his wife. A ceremony, although prescribed by law, or otherwise, does not alter a fact, which should be recognized regardless of ceremony.

Some people in considering the social and racial question seize upon divorce as the one thing to be remedied, as others do on the drink habit. Both, in their worst aspect, are sufficiently bad, and deserving of attention; but they are too far down on the list of causes to come in for extensive consideration in this discussion, which must confine itself to the main issue, and those evils which strike more directly and effectually at the root of the tree of life.

A race of people may be virile and strong, although the divorce evil is considerable. So it was in the time of Moses, and even now in Eastern countries. Among us divorce, to some extent as a cause, but more as an effect, is mixed up with our social condition, and we have the opposite result. The reason of the difference is that in the East the men are the cause, while with us, women are at the bottom of it, and this is a much more serious matter in its effect on the life of the race.

Christ did not criticize Moses on account of his divorce laws, but insisted on a higher level for his followers, which it is for them to attain to. The state may have to do with conditions similar to those in the time of Moses, and accommodate itself to them. But this should not go to the extent of encouraging divorce, which is an evil however we view it. Young women who marry with the mental reservation of discarding the husband shortly, and securing another, perhaps already bargained for, are generally rewarded with a substantial

money consideration out of the wronged man's earnings for performing this trick. Marriage and divorce becomes a series of experiments for profit and pleasure, in which legitimate results are discounted as extremely inconvenient.

There is damage in this to the state and society. Divorce is an evil at any rate, and if the state does not prohibit it, it should at any rate not encourage it by putting a premium on trickery and rascality. The ideal union, with community of interest, has already been set aside as impracticable for our times. Women are allowed to hold property in their own name, both before and after marriage. Where money is involved it is important to do strict justice without partiality or favoritism.

We may think it an innocent game, this playing with sentiment at the expense of principles—even to the extent of abdicating our places as men and inviting women to take them—but we may create an abnormal selfishness, and destroy those qualities in women on which rest the life and continuance of our race. Throughout nature, much is demanded of the female as the price of this; if she is unfit or unwilling to render it, it comes to an end. Strength can not be produced in a woman any more than in a man, on a diet of trash and artificialities. Flashy sentiment always precedes the advent of political agitation, and wherever the froth of this agitation of woman's question comes on top, we are sure to find moral and physical degeneracy at bottom.

REVOLUTION AND DECAY OF THE NATIVE RACE IN THE NORTH.

The great battles of the world in which thousands of men have been slain, and in which the fate of nations, races and civilizations have hung in the balance, and been decided for a long time to come, or permanently, are records of history. We read about them, study them, and wonder. As nations advance in refinement and culture, wars become less frequent, and the fate, the destinies, of nations, races and civilizations are decided by other means. The physiological contest takes the place of battles. To be armed with qualities of mind and body becomes more than a figure; it becomes a hard, palpable, merciless fact, and nations, races and civilizations rise or perish, as they happen to be armed or not armed in this way for the conflict.

But they do so silently. No blare of trumpet calls attention to it, no noise of arms rends the air, and makes the world to wonder. Silently and mercilessly the combat goes on; so noiselessly that the historians do not even catch the idea of it, and it is not recorded as a lesson for the present or future.

The native American young men of fifty or sixty years ago were strong, stalwart and plenty. They had conquered the wilderness, and looked forward with confidence to the time when their children should fill it to its utmost border, a compact mass, strong with their own strength and vitality. Their young women were like them, seemingly destined to be the mothers of a mighty race.

Had the promise been verified we should not have to import a new nation of people every year, as for fifty years past, to maintain an increase equal to that of a healthy people without immigration. We should have been as many as we are had not a single immigrant landed in the United States since 1850. The country would have been wholly saved to the Anglo-Saxon race and the Anglo-Saxon ideal. The head of the opposite would not have counted this country as a principal source of his power. His supporters, of many races, would not have overrun it from east to west with hopes—not extravagant in view of present advances—of winning it all.

The history of the United States for the last sixty years has not been one of assimilation, but of conflict. The native race has not assimilated the immigrants, but has been displaced by them. Nor have the immigrants assimilated the Americans. It is hardly possible to assimilate a sickly, dying race; those that meddle are destroyed in the attempt; those that keep aloof are the winners. The supposed infusion of new blood and virile strength into such a race is a myth, it is corrupted by contact or dissipated uselessly. A race is weak and sickly on account of sufficient causes; its only salvation is in elimination of the causes. Those that escape the general condition do so by independent effort in this direction. The only effect of a strong race on a weak one is that of competitor; it naturally wins in the competition, and hastens the exit of the weak race. It is a process of substitution and displacement.

However, the native race was not weak at the beginning of this conflict, and did not yield without a struggle. But where is the historian that has told the story of this defeat, of this revolution of destinies for a continent? Had the United States been invaded by a foreign army, and been defeated in a hundred battles, till the whole country had been overrun by the enemy, it might not have been so serious, and might have been less worthy of record. Nations and countries have been thus defeated and overrun without suffering permanent damage. The root remained sound, and the superstructure was soon repaired. Nevertheless, had the United States been defeated in a single battle, and the country invaded, it would have roused the whole nation, and been recorded by the historian for all times. We should have learned the lesson, studied it, and remedied defects. But the United States has been the battleground of a physiological contest the last sixty years, and there has been many a crisis of more importance than a Waterloo. Even our stupendous Civil War, with its sacrifice of half a million men—a tremendous blow to a race at a critical time, but it recuperated in the South, and might have done so in the North—even the Civil war, with its carnage, is but an incident, comparatively a digression or side-issue, if the real history was told.

Future developments, in line with those of the United States, will force the idea on the nations that the physiological con-

Conflict is the modern warfare that decides the destiny of races and civilizations. We shall then guide this warfare with all the skill, ingenuity and foresight that we would physical combat. We shall avoid the conflict, if possible, by barring out the invaders, if it takes armed resistance to do so. If they are already among us, the greatest minds of the age, and the greatest energies, will be devoted on both sides of the conflict.

It will not be denied that the greatest minds and greatest energies have been devoted on one side of this sixty years' conflict by which the native American race in the North has been nearly annihilated. Of Americans, it may fairly be said they never had a practical thought on the subject; their traditional beliefs and sentiments left no room for it. The conflict has passed over them without leaving more than an indefinite realization, a dim consciousness of being crowded and let down, sometimes irritation enough to cause murmurs and helpless wrath, but never sufficiently strong to find expression in definite thought or action.

The historian may affect as dim realization or recollection. He may slip over the whole serious question without any notice of more than superficial changes. Yet the story of this inner life of the nation, its struggles, the forthcoming conditions, and net results, could be told. It has not come about without mighty causes. It has had a beginning, and the process could be traced.

This beginning is perhaps the most curious part of it. Only once at the very outset do we find the physiological struggle break out into open disorder. It was in the early fifties. The Irish famine forced immense numbers of the Irish people over the Atlantic. Their coming gave occasion to sharp competition in the labor market. Up to that time the native American boys had been plenty and robust; you could find them everywhere as true as now you can find them nowhere. They were neither scarce, expensive or fastidious. They could be hired to do all kinds of work, and did it at less wages than is now asked by our foreigners. The Irish caused a sharp competition, nevertheless. They were hungry. They were used to hard conditions. They were willing to take up with hard conditions. They meant to live at any rate—no matter on what conditions. Here, apparently, is where the native Ameri-

cans drew the line. Well, in competition with a race thus willing they simply had to go; they could not occupy the same ground. They kicked up some bad work in the way of turmoil and disorder, and then they went; their former place knew them no more.

Nor did any other place know them. We have ingenious ways of comforting ourselves, and imagine that when one race comes in the other is crowded higher up; but there is not room for a race of people anywhere except on the ground of honest work and industry. When it is crowded off this ground it ceases to exist.

In our days the work of decay and dissolution is easily observed; it is not necessary to ask how a race of people passes away, but it is a question about the beginning. We may say that they would not endure the competition nor bring up children to endure it, and this is the larger part of the explanation. It would be easy to construct an argument tracing the whole train of evils from alien immigration, with which it had its beginning; but the process would have been less rapid and decisive had not other causes conspired to produce disaster.

The failure of their young men to obtain work in competition with the foreigners, their being crowded out of their places, would naturally result in a stoppage of growth to a large extent. Marriage would become rarer, if not the family smaller. In a healthy race children do not fail if there is marriage, but this is apt to be long deferred, and often not undertaken at all. This is to some extent true of the Irish of to-day. They have themselves got competition, and not a few of their young men fail to marry, but when they do they raise children. One would have looked for something similar to this among Americans when competition became sharp; what actually took place was a complete demoralization of their forces.

How did this happen? What brought in practices not till then known, and what spread them with lightning rapidity from the cities to the remotest farm and village, at once involving the whole population?

In a measure, this may be accounted for by the press, which by this time became universal as a medium of expression and communication. Yet the start of this mighty revolution would still involve some mystery, at least with regard to some of the practices.

We can account for the introduction of the corset among all classes. The fashions and their advertisers did this. It will alone destroy a race. The northern countries of Europe, where it is being introduced among all classes, have nearly ceased to send us immigrants. We get them from countries where there is, as yet, a wall of distinction between "society" with its corset, its fashions and follies, and the peasant class, preserving this latter as recruiting-ground for their own and other countries.

We can account for the abnormal demand for book-learning, the mental and emotional strain of which did much to make nervous wrecks, especially of young women. The new ideals did this.

Less easy do we account for "a nation of dyspeptics." To eat indigestible food and explode it through the bowels with a poisonous pill became a general rule for dieting. But this, at its worst, is a slow process; stronger, more simple and effective means were used to kill.

In a more marked degree, how did the idea, the knowledge and practice of criminal abortion come among them, and at once take possession of the whole population, from the Atlantic to the Pacific? There is a cause, plain, palpable and direct. When we wish to be nice about it, we use indirect means; the direct way of killing is more brutal, but both may be equally effective.

It can not be urged in excuse of this practice that there was, or is, no more room for babies. If there is room for half a million immigrants every year, there is room for that many babies; and if this is the place for the half a million to live, it would seem they had rather be born here, and that it would be a distinct advantage to the country to have them thus born, unless there is something in the soil and surroundings of America that spoil the babies, so that we must maintain breeding-ground elsewhere, but this at least had not been true up to the time of which we write; if it came to be true all at once, it would be a question of the reason why.

Again, how did the idea, the knowledge and practice of self-abuse at once become general among the young of both sexes. Perhaps this is the most difficult to account for. It could not have been publicly advertised, for no one makes a profit out of it, as in the case of criminal abortion. The practice is not

found in healthy individuals, or in a healthy race of people. From observations among the peasant population of Europe we know that there are whole provinces of this population among which there is not even an inkling of its existence. It seems to depend on certain conditions. As it is true that certain weeds will spring up at once in a soil if a condition is brought into existence that favors them, or as certain germs of disease at once multiply if they are favored by a suitable condition, so it may be said of this practice; a condition came into existence that favored it, and it spread at once among the whole population.

It is still a serious question how this strong race so suddenly became enervated and effeminate. How did the notion get into their heads that they could not live unless there was a soft snap for them somewhere; unless they could do so, practically without exertion, at the expense of somebody?

This latter passage perhaps enables us to trace the beginning a step further. It is a universal proverb that idleness and laziness breed vice and disease. But a thrifty, industrious, frugal and modest population does not at once, and without cause, become extravagant in its notions, visionary and inclined to impractical ideas—deserting the habits of daily toil, of modest demands, the content of homely comforts and domestic enjoyments. Doubtless the cause of the change was a transition of thought and sentiment; a bringing in of new ideals.

Up to that time, honest Franklin had been the prophet of the nation. His almanac had been in every home. His proverbs and terse sayings, like those of a second Solomon, inculcating thrift, honesty, modesty, frugal and sober ways, had become the proverbs of the nation. The people had lived them, and acted them, and had reaped their reward. Franklin's philosophy may not be deep, but it is sound as far as it pretends. It does not pretend to be everything, nor to cover the whole field of human endeavor. Nor was this necessary, for it was supplemented by a religious system that took full account of the other side of life, the soul, its immortality, and its higher aspirations. This religious system was that of the Bible, firmly believed in without doubt or question. The Bible and Franklin's almanac, firmly believed in, is quite sufficient to account for the immense strength and vitality of the native American race down to the time of the change. The time of the change

was a time of transition of thought and sentiment, of bringing in of new ideals. Franklin and the Bible were superseded by new prophets. We have the era of brilliant literary achievements; the era of transcendentalism. We yet admire the brilliancy, but, nevertheless, these prophets were practically one and all prophets of decadence. The period of decadence started from them and with them, it started from their locality and amongst them, that is—New England. Their writings are throughout permeated with the poison that undermined the faith and ideals that up to that time had preserved the race strong and vigorous.

With the undermining of the fundamentals in morals and religion we have all sorts of vagaries introduced in their place. We have the political woman and the shriveled-up family, misshapen notions and perverted sentiment, extravagant conceit and visionary ideas.

Emerson had said "hitch your wagon behind a star." This, and like alluring bombast, was taken as good advice with amazing unanimity; and the result is that Americans are mostly among the stars, literally and figuratively, while the foreigners, content with humbler and more rational means of progress, are taking possession of the earth. A sentiment exaggerated, something like a gambling-fever, or "Wall-street craze," took possession of the nation. Parents began to look upon their children as prodigies destined for careers. Honest toil and a reasonable ambition was discounted. The road "from the log cabin to to the White House" became thronged with aspirants; few succeeded, the many became tramps and vagabonds, and were swallowed up by vice and crime. The people of a nation can not live altogether by stealing from one another; the great majority must be producers. If those of the native race refuse to be such, they naturally dwindle to a small minority. Crazy ideals brought them nearly to this, but doubtless the presence of the foreigners helped to create and confirm in them the notions that it was no longer for them to work. Unwilling to exert themselves for the support of life, they soon found it necessary to go a step further and exert themselves against the life that craved exertion for its support. Hence, the introduction of all the vices and weaknesses that lead to deterioration and extinction.

To one who sees the condition of to-day with its exclusive

demand for foreign labor it is hard to realize that only sixty or fifty years ago it did not exist. The native American boys supplied every demand, and with a rate of increase of population greater than to-day. This increase was almost wholly due to native reproduction. A light immigration of kindred people, at once assimilated and absorbed, existed. The American boys were at that time practically a drug in the market, cheap and plenty, equal to any task. The women and girls were like them, independent in their perfect ability to meet any demand on their strength and endurance. Dependence on another race for physical strength, wherever needed, is an abnormal condition; a race thus dependent is already lost. There was no dependence of this sort at the beginning of this period; displacement of Americans was a forced process, due to the incoming of vast numbers of an alien race. But as degeneracy crept in, caused in part by the presence of these latter, in part by wrong ideals and consequent loss of power, dependence and displacement became voluntary; the race, so to speak, went out of business.

The resistance of Americans to their forced displacement at the beginning of this period, and its failure, constitute the most important chapter and turning-point in the history of the country. Change in the form of government is a small matter compared with displacement of a race and subversion of a civilization. The native American boys seem to have known by instinct what was coming. They made resistance of a desultory and haphazard sort. It was called "know-nothingism," and it is true, they did not know it all; if they had, they would have become desperately in earnest, perhaps sufficiently so to produce results. The capitalists were in the saddle, in the North as in the South; the race was sacrificed. A few years sufficed to sweep them from the workshops of the country and place these in the hands of foreigners, a victory to them equal to the capture of several States.

The farms remained, and should have been the stronghold of the race, from whence it might have recruited its forces. But political and economic defeat had produced its demoralizing effect; and demoralization had spread among the farmers as rapidly as in the towns. Boys were no longer plenty. Foreigners had to be hired to work the farms. They were first the hired men; now are they tenants; they will in time be owners.

We often hear of the deserted farms in New England and the East, and we say accommodately that the boys have left the farms and gone to the city. But the boys are not in the cities, the foreigners got them. Had the population continued strong and vigorous, there would have been boys enough to fill the cities fuller than they now are with foreigners, and to occupy the farms as well. What is not true of the boys which were not is true of the farmers insufficiently provided with them. West as well as East they have flocked to the towns almost en masse, where they live idle, useless lives on a small income from their rented farms.

Vain notions and love of ease doubtless increase the rush to the towns; but scarcity of children is the sufficient and efficient cause. The woman may be either entirely unwilling or utterly unfit to have them. The man may have started on the farm with a love for it, and some ambition to go on with it and make it a success. The absence of children soon makes this extremely burdensome and almost impracticable. They are of the highest importance to him, not only for sentimental reasons, but from a financial point of view. Hired labor comes high and is unreliable. It costs practically nothing to bring up children on the farm; properly trained they will pay for their keep many times over. Overworked, lonely, and seeing no use of his toil, none to work for, he soon consents to his wife's proposal to move to town. The foreigner gets the farm. On some avenue in town we may find a lonely couple living their idle, selfish life. We may find the country towns more than half filled with them.

The native farmer labors under still another disadvantage. If his importunity prevails with the woman to have children, girls are generally the result with discouraging persistency. Much speculation has been indulged in with regard to the determination of sex. Observation confirms the perhaps not original notion that the stronger party determines the opposite sex. Where there is a fair balance the children are about evenly divided between the sexes. Here we have abnormal inequalities, and among the natives, nearly always in favor of girl babies. The women being weakened by abusive practices, the men the stronger, girls are the result.

In a Western community, mostly farmers, the native contingent from many States, so great was the preponderance of

girls among them that although a good half of those that married were supplied with husbands from among the foreigners, yet, even so, it failed to suffice for the inequality, and quite a few remained unmarried.

But here, again, we notice a disadvantage to our race and kindreds among the immigrants. These marriages of robust foreigners to frail, nervous, slender girls, were not as a rule productive of results, which meant a loss to the race of these men who with proper mates would have brought up families of happy, healthy children, illustrations of a principle called attention to at the beginning of this chapter.

The American boys, being a minority from the start, chances appear to be against them from the start, which emphasizes the inequality referred to at the critical time of life. Girls, although frail, have more tenacity of life; often the only baby-boy would die, while the girls would hold on. If the boys survive infancy, the chances are still against them. Being taught to act smart, and to some degree reckless, they are peculiarly liable to accident. Surviving childhood, early youth finds them quarreling about the girls, killing each other or themselves on this account. Further on, being brought up without moral training and habits of self-restraint, they fall easy victims to vice in all its forms, and evil habits get away with numbers of them. Having furthermore instilled into them from early infancy a detestation for small things, and the common walks of life, for which perhaps alone there is fitness, and fired with a vaulting ambition, the chance for habits of industry and steady, persevering work is against them. Schemes involving an opportunity to get a living by one's wit becomes a habitual study, meeting with indifferent success, and often ends in trouble. Adventures of all kinds and anything promising excitement, and a riddance of work, is always a welcome occasion. War is such an occasion, and he is always on hand to enlist.

The American boys that are able to run the gauntlet of all the dangers that surround them from infancy, and whose ambition is equaled by abilities, make up the strong men and geniuses of the country. Their careers are marked and the stories of their successes often told. But a few millionaires and men of genius are not a nation. They serve the masses, howmuch-soever they may gain for themselves. Even the slaveholders,

selfish and hard taskmasters as they were, served the Negro race; except for them the Negroes would not now own a population in the country equal to that of several States. So with the American strong man and genius of today; their talent and leadership is at the service of the foreigners which compose the masses. They pave the way for them and deliver the country over to them. They may accumulate the wealth and hold the high position. The ownership of this, held at the mercy of the masses, is nominal and when the masses are aliens in race and creed it is a precarious possession. The genius of American leadership can never take back from these foreigners the immense service rendered them, or the country delivered over to them, but the foreigners may at any time they choose take away both wealth and leadership. The country will belong to the population thereof; bulk, numbers and physical strength will determine ultimate ownership.

NOTES AND REVIEW.

It is human nature to get away from a humiliating admission if possible. The weakness might be indulged if less were at stake, but the race itself is at stake, and it would be worth the while for the sake of it to face ourselves and the situation. Something could be saved, even from the wreckage, by a fair understanding of the causes and proper efforts.

In getting away from a humiliating admission we seek the first convenient loophole. A woman writer finds one in the greater passions of Southern people, accounting for their greater increase and present heavy movement towards the North. The notion comes in conflict with an hitherto accepted theory, that gives Northern people the credit for strength, vitality and whatever would tend to predominance. Both theories may be equally worthless.

The facts of history are a more serious matter, and it is inexcusable in any theorist, man or woman, to be ignorant of them. Who does not know of the mighty migrations of northern people southward, within historic times, both from Europe and Asia; how swarm after swarm of the former swept down over Europe, and established themselves from Great Britain down into Africa; of the latter likewise carving out for themselves kingdoms from Hungary in Europe, to India and China in Asia! How has the process come to be reversed? It is evidently accounted for by the general fact that corruption, effeminacy and disintegration follow in the wake of the highest civilization. In former times, civilization was furthest advanced in southern countries, and with it followed the seed of corruption, decay and disintegration, inviting to conquest by northern people. In our day, this is reversed; we have the highest civilization in the North, and we have also the vices of civilization and disintegration making room for influx of southern races.

But has not the world advanced these last fifteen hundred years? What about the great forces of modern civilization—religion, science and education, with its mighty auxiliary, the printing-press? So far from these having proved a bulwark against the disintegrating forces, they have afforded facilities

for their rapid advance. In the old time, corruption started with a wealthy, luxurious class in the cities, and crept slowly beyond to outlying circles, and there is no reason to suppose it ever reached the outermost. In our days it is different; with the help afforded by modern facilities, it sweeps at once over a whole population.

The rapid decrease of immigration from northern Europe suggests the question of the presence of the plague among the people of our own race in the home lands. There are difficulties in obtaining reliable data. Inquiries with reference to an unpopular subject are apt to be met at first with assumed indifference, to be followed, perhaps, by violent expressions of feeling, as though all was lost, the one as much a dodge as the other. A certain class of influential Englishmen are addicted to this latter, shrieking out exaggerations and sweeping generalizations, with the evident intent to startle. This is too reassuring; everybody perceives the trick and discounts the whole, even the truth that is in it is for the time being overlooked. Let us have an investigation of the precise facts in the case, with thorough understanding of causes and suggestion of remedies.

To say that the condition in northern Europe approaches that of America is a wild assertion. There is as yet but a slight comparison. But we know with what a rush this condition, when once started, may pass over a population. The question is: Is there more there than here to bar its progress? There are stricter laws, a more watchful government, and more fear of God undoubtedly. Liberalism, however, is at work and may undermine all of these. Their only hope, perhaps, is to consent to learn from our experience, and take measures that will check progress. A principal danger is from injurious fashions. The breaking down of distinctions between the classes in this respect lays the whole population open to attack from this side. They will doubtless not proceed so far as we before passing immigration laws that will effectually bar other races from taking advantage of any national weakness.

A sharp decrease of the birth-rate in Australia has of late attracted attention. A slight decrease is not under some circumstances alarming, but here we have a sudden and considerable decrease which, taken in connection with the advent

and prominence of the political woman, leaves no doubt of the presence of the plague. And we may look for some other race to find its way to those regions and take the place of the present population.

We hear also whining, on the part of some Englishmen, on account of the Dutch, with their large families, getting ahead of the English in Africa. Here, there is no damage. The Boers are better Anglo-Saxons than the English. They were Anglo-Saxons before there were any Englishmen. They are better Anglo-Saxons because truer to Anglo-Saxon principles.

We may think lightly of the brag and boast of Anglo-Saxonism, especially the narrow sort, but we should not think lightly of the race itself, or its future existence. "Saxons, Normans and Danes are we" from the shores of the Baltic and the North Sea; the race emerges into history at the decline of the Roman Empire, and was used to chastise effeminacy and corruption in southern nations. For some centuries after, it simply occupied its place in northern Europe. Then there is another world-crisis. Tyranny and oppression, by priest and king, has reached the utmost limit of endurance, the race makes a stand for freedom of thought and liberty of will; one hundred years of wars and persecution follows, in which the race is often nearly crushed, but at the end saves itself, and a portion of the world for its principles. The fight is still on; nine-tenths of mankind acknowledge the authority of the autocratic priest or king. Its work and mission is not, therefore, ended. There is no other race that can take its place; there are plenty that can take its ground and occupy it.

THE ANGLO-SAXON RACE IN THE SOUTH WITH REFERENCES TO THE CONDITION IN THE NORTH.

In a former discussion of this subject, it was pointed out how newspapers of the South helped to solve the race question by advertising means and medicine for killing off the white babies before they are born. If we seek for evidence of the plague in the South, we do not need go further. There are other symptoms of this disease, and very ugly ones, but there are none more aggravating and decisive in their character. When parents and doctors conspire to kill off the race in this wholesale fashion, and first-class public newspapers openly advertise the means of destruction, we have reached a level from which it is not possible to descend lower.

These advertisements do not pay unless the means advertised are used. Perhaps they are paid for at extra rates; anyhow, these means must be used extensively and steadily to pay for a standing advertisement. And they are standing the year round, and have been for a great many years. The particular one referred to in a former chapter was going the round of papers in the North shortly after the Civil War, and possibly before that time. The wording of it has not been changed through all these years, while it has been on its errand of death and destruction, unchallenged by the authorities and public opinion. It tells what the medicine will do quite plainly. There are others more disguised, but silly women have evidently no difficulty in making out their meaning, for unless they were understood and the means used, how could the advertising pay? It is the intelligent editor alone that apparently is ignorant of their meaning.

We have learned not to expect much of our government along lines unconnected with party or boodle, but it would seem that this public bidding for the privilege of murder could be made to cease. America is the only country where these things could be. Foreign nations have an eye to business, at any rate if nothing more. It would be inconvenient to say the least, for a king or pope to wake up some morning and find

himself without any people to govern; so they do not take any chances with these things; they strike at once and hard. Here we need not be particular, for the rake-off of all the world is on hand to take our place if we wish to go out of business.

There are others. The alluring pictures of the wasp-waisted woman are hardly less damaging. There is much besides to prevent undue optimism with regard to human nature. Infirmities and weaknesses do not surprise. But these particular advertisements under discussion have a character that make them more or less of a puzzle. They impress one with an import not only moral, but scientific. They are psychologically significant, and should be investigated from this point of view. We can understand an enemy sneaking through the lines and poisoning the wells of an adversary, though this would not be considered civilized warfare even on the part of an enemy. Something may be said about the impersonality of the press, but this is not convincing. It is not all done by machinery. There are hearts and brains behind it somewhere. It would be an impertinence to tell representative men that they have an interest in their race and country beyond the value of an ad. or two. A race of people can not live with nothing but disease and selfishness to show for its existence; it will stand some of this, but there is a limit. It has come to be a plain question whether the leading forces of our civilization and representative men of our race, will help save rather than destroy. If they do not, then the Anglo-Saxon race, with its pride and boast, goes down; and the Negro, the Jew, and the Italian takes its place.

It could not be expected that the invisible Mason-Dixon line should present an effectual barrier to the progress of the plague southward; and it has not. It was general in the North before it gained much of a foothold in the South; but at present, like any other plague, we may trace its advance along lines of communication and travel. The territory that is not touched by these is exempt; what is along these lines is affected. The advertisements referred to have been found in papers published near the gulf. But other signs of the disease are not lacking.

In the cities, and to some extent elsewhere, we meet with women of the type with which we have become familiar in the North: the married woman who at the age of thirty is a

flat-chested, bloodless, nerveless, physical wreck, stamped with all the evil practices of her generation.

The married woman has her prototype in the girls found in increasing numbers. The wasp-waisted shape is in evidence, with lines of beauty crushed out by the steel cage, and well-filled outlines reduced to a handful of—disease; a mere handful, where nature evidently intended an armful of healthy flesh and blood.

In some of the inland parts of the South one may see more beautiful and well-developed women any day than could be found in some other parts of the country by hunting for them a whole year. But even here it is only a question of contact with those other parts. The fashions of to-day are rather more injurious and outrageous than ever; a body subjected to them is inevitably ruined. The fact that they are the fashion means that they prevail as such among the mass of women, otherwise they could not be the fashion. Reformers may save a few, but as long as they have not succeeded in overthrowing the injurious fashions, they do not succeed in saving the vast majority. In our days a device has come into use which ruins the young girls before ever they have had time to put on the corset.

An observer is led to wonder what ails these girls in those inland parts of the South spoken of. Having had healthy parents, they grow and develop splendidly up to a certain time, the time of approaching womanhood, when suddenly everything changes. Their complexions, which before rivaled that of our immigrants from Northern Europe, become pasty and unhealthy; their growth ceases. At the very time when a girl, under normal conditions, develops with wonderful rapidity, they suddenly cease growing and take on a sickly, stunted appearance. Why all at once this shriveled-up look about these girls? Had it been a boy, we should say the cigarette habit. Had they been of less healthy stock, we should believe it to be self-abuse. But it is neither; it is the belt—so handy, and so easily manipulated. Many of these thirteen to fifteen-year-old girls have indeed already on the corset, but the belt is sufficient.

The girls have approached the age of womanhood and the impulse of attracting the eyes of the young men seizes upon them. With all the ardor supplied by this impulse, they make

it cut into the soft parts of the body, displacing the vital organs, obstructing circulation, and hindering every vital process. Fashion teaches them that that is the way to show themselves women, and their idea is to catch the eyes of the young men. No man, knowing what it will mean, can look at the misshapen body without horror.

When an anemic girl from the plague-stricken sections makes use of one of these devices and squeezes out of her the little life left, there is not much cause for regret; she would not have amounted to anything. But these girls had it in them to make beautiful and strong women simply by allowing nature her own way of development. They are ruined before they reach the age of womanhood.

Some sympathy might be due a race of people tired of the struggle of existence, and wishing to retire; but nothing can be said in sympathy with this gratuitous folly which prolongs and clings to life after health, strength and usefulness have been wantonly sacrificed; which enormously increases the pains and dangers of childbirth and fills the land with the puny, sickly and useless, and has not even the compensation of vicious pleasure, but unfits even for this.

Of what use is civilization, science, knowledge, education, when with all these we are unable to correct abuses that would shame a South Sea cannibal, and are literally destroying the race.

Moral deficiencies may cause failures, but this wholesale destruction of physical power is certain and inevitable ruin; it is useless to appeal to those that are utterly unfit for anything.

A race to live must produce life, and be capable of it; if not, it very naturally dies.

In the past of the world's history, it does not appear that there has been need of anxiety, on the part of leading men, with regard to the "raw material" on which all depended. The king might count with confidence on people to be taxed; the general was certain of "food for powder," the priest assured that the procession would be kept up of those that would crawl in abject terror before him; the scientist and philosopher could speculate and plan for the future of a race, without any question about its continuance. Even to-day, it seems absurd to call the attention of leading men from their great thoughts and great works to a bit of feminine vanity as capable of

making their planning for the future of their race quite superfluous.

As a builder taking too much for granted about the foundation, going on complacently with the superstructure, so our representative men, ceaselessly scheming for the future of our race, and busying themselves with the superstructure, have taken too much for granted. They multiply institutions of learning not needed, build magnificent churches for a score of dying families, and exult in the splendor and progress of their civilization. Their ambition and plans for the future of their race outstrips even fancy, and finds hardly room on the globe; then some day when the race is actually wanted, and we look around for it, it is not there, it is gone. Like a submerged continent it has disappeared; in its place is a sea of foreigners, only here and there islets jutting up out of the sea of the continent that once was. We have arrived at this in the North and are preparing for the same in the South.

In making calculations and predictions about the future of a race, there is no better method than that of studying the growing girls and young women. Observe their ways, and notice what they make of themselves. It is ahead of statistics of churches and learned institutions, of commercial enterprise, export and import, army and navy. If the women of our alien races, which are here in force, Celt, Slav, Latin, South German, French Canadians, Jew and Negro are ahead of the Anglo-Saxon in robustness, health and bodily capacity, as well as in domestic affection and home-making qualities, we need not enquire further about the relative importance of those races in the future.

A noted Southern lecturer, not long ago, delivered the usual characteristic lecture throughout the South, about the Anglo-Saxon race, its backbone, etc. They are at work down in the South precisely along the same lines as in the North. They will rave and brag and bluster about their Anglo-Saxon race, while the race is falling to pieces about them, and never do a single practical thing to save it. Their nature is to strive against a humiliating admission as long as possible. And appearances help them to some extent; the grown-up people keep alive even when the younger generation dwindle and grow sickly. There are some left of the native American race in the North; a million of them are on the government's pension-list,

and a few millions more might be on the superannuated list, for all their interest in the future of their race—elderly and old people, old maids or hopelessly unattractive girls, married people without children, sickly children and blasted youth of both sexes, utterly unfit to reproduce themselves; a lot of wreckage, drifting down the stream of time finally to disappear, but while present helping to keep up appearances. If anything is to be done, it should not deter us that there is something left of the race; it would be an advantage to begin before it is all gone.

It is a conflict between races in the United States and elsewhere, sure enough. The power to produce life and support it is the only weapon. For the Anglo-Saxon race to enter this contest with nothing better than the wasp-waisted women, than the ruined product of fashion and a perverted sentiment, is like contending without arms and ammunition against a well-equipped force.

It is a serious question about the remaining stronghold of the native American race—the mountain regions of the South. Whether to leave them in their ignorance and simplicity, and have them remain strong, or impart to them the light and knowledge of our “higher civilization” and have them follow the rest of the race to its grave. As it is, there is no question about the result. Degeneracy, decay and extinction has followed in the wake of this civilization precisely to the extent it has been introduced. Knowledge has been used for immoral purposes as fast as it has been acquired.

Some people grow hysterical in their predictions as to what is in store for the future in view of inventions and science, but mankind has it in its power to make all these things minister to its vices and selfishness, so that the world of humanity may grow worse continuously with the increase of knowledge and scientific attainments, perhaps to the total extinction of civilized races. The people in the mountainous regions of the South have been preserved in their seclusion simply because, civilization, science, knowledge and education have not been able to get at them. That is the one reason why they have retained their original strength and vigor.

There is no need of discounting the evils of ignorance in the presence of a greater. It is sad to see a people with no wider horizon than their own immediate neighborhood, and no

greater interests than local feuds and broils; it is sadder still to see the remaining stronghold of our race in the hands of the enemy. It is a question of keeping them secluded and alive or let them "eat of the tree of knowledge" and "die."

Sometimes we may discover how to combine a higher civilization, education and whatever belongs to it, with strength, health, growth, virtue, vitality, but that is a problem which we in this country, at any rate, have not solved. We have to reckon with our higher civilization such as it is, and we find it a blast of death and destruction, its influence as such to be traced into every nook and corner where it has penetrated. Where its influence has not been felt we find life, growth and vitality; and its deadly effect wherever it has reached. It is some knowledge in particular, and also knowledge in general, that gives potency and life to the foul seed carried along by our civilization, and that scatters it like a wind in every direction.

The verdict would be that these people be let alone till we are prepared to give them an education and civilization that will not kill them off by the wholesale. They can stand "moonshine" whiskey, unsanitary conditions, the revolver and bloody feuds; they can stand all this and still increase rapidly, but once get among them the ideal of the wasp-waisted woman and its advertisers, the ideal of the lazy, idle woman and her crimes, and there is an end to life and growth. A few years will suffice to supply the whole region with a sickly, straggling population, which the foreigners will sweep down and out as soon as they come among them, and they will come as soon as weakness in the natives invites to easy conquest, as in the rest of the country.

THE SOUTH AND THE NEGRO.

There are several things with regard to the Negro which may, or may not, be considered problems.

The fact of some crime in a population of ten million Negroes is not a problem. If crimes and criminals should become so numerous as to disturb the natural order of things, cause general apprehension and uneasiness, we have a problem justifying special attention. The crime of murder among the whites, due to the custom of carrying a revolver, has proportions that constitute it a problem. If the Negro should become generally feared and hated on account of his crimes, the demand for his labor and necessary presence would cease, a separation could be looked for, each race withdrawing into distinct localities. It is not apparent that such a movement has, as yet, taken definite shape.

With regard to the political question, we may admit that expedients, not justifiable on general principles, are excusable under some circumstances. But this should evidently not be regarded as a solution of the problem. Not till all the requirements of justice have been met can we be said to have arrived at a satisfactory solution. If the Negro has all the duties and burdens of citizenship, it naturally follows that he should have the rights and privileges. To extend to him the rights and privileges without danger or damage to the State is the problem. The difficulty of it should not excuse us from earnestly striving towards this end. And as there is room for improvements in many directions, both among blacks and whites, the case should not be considered hopeless.

The question of "social equality" is an impertinence and should not be discussed. Social intercourse becomes a problem if society is forced upon us that we do not want. Resenting this does not involve the question of equality. It may be superior or inferior; comparisons are not called for, it is sufficient that we are rid of it. Nor is this a matter for complaint on the part of any one. No one has a right to more company than that of his own person; if we go beyond this we ask for permission, and are dependent on the consent and good will of others. We save our self-respect by not intruding where we are not wanted.

If the contention is right that amalgamation is against public policy, the ground for social intercourse is naturally restricted. Marriage is the focal point around which society moves. It is not only a never-ceasing interest, but a never-ceasing business, to be attended to as such. Where this relation, with all its ramifications, is thought inexpedient, or entirely prohibited, there can be little occasion for social intercourse. This may be further discouraged on the ground of public morality. Where the natural consummation of friendship between families or individuals of the two sexes is out of the question, the steps that might lead to unlawful desires should undoubtedly rather not be taken. But with all this to discount social intercourse, some ground may yet exist in our common humanity, and some interests in common. It is worth the while to discover common ground for standing and agreement, rather than causes for estrangement. The notion of superiority without reference to character is not a thing to argue about; it is a matter of feeling, on account of which no one is better. The question from this point of view may be assigned to the limbo of absurdities. The extravagance and exaggeration on the subject could not be wholly due to meaningless prejudice. It has a practical cause: fear of the Negro wench as a competitor to the white woman. The Southerners have often large families of boys and girls; mating and marrying is an important matter. The boys must be saved for the girls. And it is a subject to enlist the feeling.

The Negro wench as a competitor to the white woman is undoubtedly a point in the question between the two races. The white woman should not depend too much on the mere fact of her being white; a white woman may be anything but attractive. If the white woman should become the degenerate type, sickly, sallow-faced, bloodless, nerveless wreck of humanity, the fact of her being white would not save her. If the Negro wench should come to possess greater attractions, she would probably attract in spite of all interdictions. The white woman will do well to depend on merit rather than prejudice, and strive for the one rather than put her trust in the other.

In the question of amalgamation of the two races, we have as a factor working in favor of it the predilection of the Negro woman for the white man, unfortunately, not strongly resented

by the Negro. It is in a good degree offset by the ambition of the full-blooded Negro to mate with the half-breeds, causing a continual absorption of the white blood by the Negro race.

The vitality, strength and rapid increase exhibited at present by the Negroes is final as a preventive of any serious apprehension about their continuance as a distinct race.

Every little while we have the Negro discussed in the North, in a sinister light, with predictions about his dying. It is a peculiarity about these people to be concerned about all other races except their own. They are discussing the Negro. They have endless investigations about the condition of the French people. Those of alien races that come over to take their places are objects of deep solicitude, conditions are investigated, good or bad habits considered; they will even risk life and limb in their pious zeal to regulate them and keep them from harm. All this while the tattered remnants of their own race are shrinking into ever-narrowing quarters, and no attention paid to it. There is not much ground for concern about the Negro race, it has doubled its numbers the last forty years, and shows no sign of weakening. Doubtless, there are plenty of irregularities among the Negroes, but it takes more than this to kill a race. Doubtless, too, the Negroes do ape the vices and fashions of the whites, but they are in this as in other things, rather good-natured about it. They think too much of their physical comfort to suffer severely on this account. It takes the white girl for the dead-earnestness that kills soul and body, and endures lifelong tortures for the sake of a fashion.

It can scarcely be said to be considered a problem in the South how to get along with the Negro, so as to retain the friendship of his race. Up to the time of the war it was easy, for the Negro was "good"; but then it was not so much to his credit. Even the whites might be good if they had somebody standing over them with a whip all the time, making them be. It has become a problem to make blacks and whites good at their own initiative; and it might well be treated as a problem how to retain the friendship of the Negro. The Anglo-Saxon race has shown its capacity for rapid disintegration, and should not make enemies lightly. Coddling and sentimentality may be dispensed with, but justice and fairness can not be too seri-

ously considered. No race is made better by being abused or unjustly dealt with, and it is not easily forgiven. In some of the States they are counting the money; they are trying their hands at the old bargain, thinking they must pilfer a little at the expense of justice in some way, although their settlement with justice the last time was a heavy one. One State is gloating over two or three hundred thousand, received from the sale of convict labor. Justice often fails in the case of the Negro because the punishment is overdone; it generally fails in the case of the whites, because it is not done at all. Much of the abuse is wholly gratuitous—the expression of unrestrained ill-will and prejudice. Many, even of influential people, seem to conceive of it as a grand achievement if they can inspire the black race with a deadly hate for the whites. That they have not succeeded already is wholly to the credit of the Negro; no other race would have been so patient. Succeed in embittering against them a race with a million strong, right arms, capable of carrying weapons, and of doubling their numbers within a reasonable time.

It is too late to insist that this is an Anglo-Saxon nation when it is overrun by alien races, and it is too late to cry out that this is a white man's country, when it is filled with a black population. These things should have been thought of in the beginning rather than at the end. Alien races once admitted into this country, Negroes and others, must be allowed their natural rights and equal privileges. The right of those of the native race remains, to contest the ground with them, and retain what they can for themselves. It is not a very precious privilege, when it is considered that the ground, all of it, belonged to them in the first place, and they might have kept it. But it has become a necessity. The Anglo-Saxons can not escape the contest, except by getting off the ground altogether. They have no choice but to assert themselves or go under. We have imposed this contest on ourselves, North as well as South, we and our fathers, by our greedy desire to profit by cheap, alien labor; not cheap, for we are paying for it by giving them the country, more or less, or all of it.

Carlyle, in one of his books, takes to cursing of his ancestry, and somebody else's ancestry. The indulgence might be justified, if some sentiment should suffer no great harm, seeing, as a people, we are long on sentiment and short on principles.

But it would not remedy matters; there would still be left for us this combat, to be fought by legitimate means, which alone will count. Keep strong, healthy and virtuous, so as to increase our numbers, and make us able, by cheap and efficient labor, to compete with our competitors, which should not be hard in the case of the Negro, if what is said about his inefficiency is true. It is understood that the Southerners in some parts of the South are making an effort to save the cotton factories for their own race. It is right and honorable tactics, and valuable ground, unless the factories be used to kill the children and ruin the young girls. In this case the Negroes have the advantage without them.

Small farms are especially to be recommended to the native whites. One big plantation means one white family of superfluous wealth, and a hundred servile dependents, Negroes or some alien race. Neither the owner nor the dependents are compatible with a civilization founded on the principles of liberty and progress. The same plantation cut up into twenty farms would give a chance for twenty native white families, which, if they are healthy and virtuous, would have boys enough to work them without help from any alien race; and not alone this, but enough to fill the cities as well.

Too generally the idea of "white supremacy" in the South means still what it meant before the war, the supremacy of a few white capitalists, proud and domineering, be the rest of the population what it may. The idea is as harmful to a worthy white population as to a worthy colored population, and till its representatives are eliminated we can not have either.

Barring this idea of centering the interests at stake in a few, we have a contest for supremacy in which numbers alone count and whatever makes for numbers. If the capitalists are concerned about any other kind of supremacy than their own, they have abundant chance to prove it. If the Anglo-Saxon race will save itself, it must occupy a great deal of common ground, farms, factories, mines, etc., whatever makes for numbers. Unlawful efforts at suppression of the natural aspirations of the Negro race should give place to efforts to meet his competition on this common ground of manual labor. We can not have more people than we have ground for them to occupy. As far as we surrender ground, we surrender our race and country.

The native Americans of the North thought it pleasant to have the foreigners come into the country and do the work for them, forgetting that in doing it they must occupy the ground. So they turned over to them the ground in wholesale lots, workshops and trades, factories and mines, farms and fields, chances and opportunities; practically reserving no ground for their own race. As a consequence, they have dwindled till they do not need any.

What remains of them have taken the air, and their exploitations and ebullitions are curious enough; all they ask for now is a chance to fool themselves, and are content while this is left them. There is no hope of betterment till they come to a level where they can take account of themselves and the situation.

Some stronger race may crowd the life out of the Negro by crowding him off the ground he is occupying; but at present it is not apparent that he will help by wholesale destruction of himself. He will, therefore, be a tougher job.

The deportation of the Negro as a practical means of solving the race questions in the South has of late been discussed with a degree of seriousness that challenges attention.

Two elements in our population may be said to favor it. Unless we mistake the noise of a few for the sentiment of many, the Southerners are largely in favor of it; likewise the aliens in the North—the Negro is a competitor in the labor market. For yet another reason their authorities would desire it; they will either win the Negro or be rid of him.

As for the practicability of it, if it is practicable, as it is, to import one million people to this country in one year, it is practicable to export one million people out of it, and at this rate, the Negroes could be got rid of. As for steamships to carry them out, we could stop immigration for a term of years, which would set the steamships free for the job, and they would be glad to take it. But this is not really necessary, for if the Negroes are deported, some will be wanted from abroad to take their place. Those available are the people from southern Europe. Steamships exporting the Negroes could stop at their ports and take over a cargo of these people, cheapening rates by a cargo both ways. In ten years we would have ten millions Slavs and Latins in their place, and await developments.

But why not adopt the cheaper plan? Why not allow the same to be accomplished by the automatic, self-working plan that has operated successfully in the North. The Slavs and Latins are crowding in there at the rate of upwards of a million a year, and getting away with those already there, thus making it unnecessary to export them. Why have they not already overrun the South as they have the North? Wholly on account of the Negro, undoubtedly. But they will get away with the Negro as well as with white people when once they get the process underway. And they have discovered the process and have it already in successful operation. Louisiana is exulting over the fact of having tipped the balance against the Negro. This has not been done by the native whites; it is the incoming Italians, through the port of New Orleans, advancing into Louisiana and driving the Negroes before them, crowding them back as they advance, a grand sight. If it had been armies with banners it could not have been done more prettily. It reminds us of the ancient Britons, inviting the Anglo-Saxons over to help against a disagreeable competitor. They came, got away with the competitor very easy, with the native race also, and—kept the country for themselves.

The notion that the Negroes will be eliminated in the struggle, and the native whites left, is a very superficial one. The whites have no power of resistance that the blacks have not. They will not work for less wages, or take up with harder conditions for the sake of existence. They are not less inclined to make anxious calculations about the future, which counts for the Negro. When a race of people begins to question about chances for self, or possible offspring, its chances amounts to little. Their vitality and physical strength is not greater than that of the Negro; they are not less liable to disintegration by causes from within. The whites have furnished abundant proof of what they are capable of in this respect.

The newcomers will naturally start with the lower ground, but that is the ground that counts in the scale of population. The native whites should occupy it if they will win. If the Negroes have lost the factories and plantations of Louisiana, so have the native whites, which, if they are indeed superior to the Negroes, could have done what the Italians have done; it is a game that may be played by one race as well as by another. There is no mystery about this process of displacement of one

race by another; it is the plainest of all propositions. If a national and far-sighted policy ruled in the South, the ground mentioned would be reserved for the native race at any rate, no matter if for the present it meant fewer millionaires. It has all along, in this country, been a question between the millionaires and our race and civilization. We have accepted the former and allowed the destruction of the latter. If the expansive power yet in the native race be saved, there is sufficient of it to occupy all the ground as fast as developments are desirable; but deprive it of the ground, and it can not expand.

The ground of work for wages is that on which the poor man and the young men must make their start; take this away from a race of people and its chances for life are exceedingly circumscribed.

The ground was thus taken away in the North from the native race, and although it was stronger there at that time than it is in the South at present, yet a few years sufficed for its downfall.

It is of no purpose to say that here is room for more people. Developments will not be unduly forced, if population is thus forced by the incoming of immense numbers of aliens, a struggle for life ensues, in which the newcomers win. Unless they were able to win they would not come.

For this reason it does not follow that the population of any and all kinds will increase faster with an increase of immigration. In the North the increase of population has diminished as immigration has been augmented. The increase of population is greater in the South without immigration than in the North with its immense immigration. As the immigrants have expanded their advance in the North, so the natives have contracted in like proportion, or a little faster, to be out of their way, either from choice or necessity. The North, to figure out a gain from immigration has to count the aliens of more value, man for man, than the native Americans they have displaced.

What is true of the increase of population is true of developments. The South has caught the fever of rapid development from the North, and is ready to turn over reserve land and resources to an alien population. But we could imagine the opposite: a nation jealously guarding reserve land

and resources, keeping it for the increase of its own race. In turning it over to an alien population, we invite a conflict with them for the possession of the whole, in which the outcome is not doubtful.

Natural resources can not be replaced; what is used is taken away forever. A nation with a national policy would be particular about what it gets in return for having it taken. The South is developing the natural resources of her forests with a rapidity that will insure its destruction in a few years, and perhaps the fertility of the country largely. They are feverously anxious to turn over the rest of their natural resources in exchange for a few millionaires and an alien population.

The demolition of the American forests over large areas, fit alone for their growth, and which, with proper care, could have afforded supplies for all the future, furnishes a good example of unrestrained greed in this country, that does not reckon with the future in its impulse for present gains; as also of the lack of national policy that has failed of any control. But the forests may pass; there is a deeper meaning to it. Individual greed after the same fashion has served itself in the destruction of the native race, wholly without regard to future consequences. In its place, we have in the South the Negro; in the North, a more dangerous class of aliens.

The native race has faults and shortcomings, but it is not tied to a corpse, or moribund system. It may advance; it has possibilities denied those races that are thus tied.

Even with the Negro alone, it is often painful to witness the struggle of white young men in the towns for a start. Many of them would be excellently fitted for manual labor, but this is all done by the Negro. With the newcomers, the native white young men in the South will have two competitors instead of one. There is some ground that the native race can keep from the Negro, but there is no ground that it can keep from the newcomers; they are able to occupy every inch of ground that the native white race is occupying, and, moreover, they are able to win it.

If the physiological struggle which will ensue with the incoming of these people should at any time develop into armed conflict the Southerners would very soon be able to satisfy themselves that the newcomers are "not Negroes." The shotgun policy would not be a one-sided affair. But even in the physi-

ological combat there would be a vast difference. The Negroes are a disorganized mob, used to look to the whites for example and leadership, fairly acknowledging them as masters. This would not be the case with these people. There would be several nationalities of them, but they would all be united in one organization—the strongest there is in the world—and under the same leadership, the best the organization can furnish them. They would keep together and move in compact mass, inspired by the same principle, the same zeal, and the same purpose.

The Negro does not belong to our race; nevertheless, he is not naturally or necessarily an enemy; he belongs to our civilization, having accepted our principles from our teaching and example; if we do not appreciate this, the opposition does, and if it wins him, will take good care to keep him. The Negro is practically all they need for a preponderance of physical strength in the country.

In the coming conflict, when both the native races shall have been weakened, the Negro will make his surrender, and fall in with the plans of the conquering race. The Negro will be the servant and imitator of one race as soon as of another. The Anglo-Saxons will have more difficulty in making their surrender, and will probably get off the earth. Their talent and leadership will be retained, in the South and North alike, till the other race and civilization has been fully constructed, when it will be got rid of very quickly.

The whites of the South have burned at the stake and otherwise tortured some of the Negroes, and the multitude of them have evidently enjoyed these proceedings. Their punishment may be to have their own children treated in the same fashion by these strangers when their countless swarms shall cover the South. If the Anglo-Saxon race can enjoy proceedings along this line, it can not be doubted of these. They and their priests are not likely greatly to belie their history, when once they have it in their power to repeat it. The Anglo-Saxons indulge in these things as a mere expression of race prejudice; but these people will have racial and religious prejudice both to stimulate them, and the latter has always been by far the greatest factor in these proceedings.

The capitalists are, of all, the least safe as counselors and guides. They never look beyond the question of dividends.

One punishment overtook the South because of the utter selfishness and shortsightedness of the capitalistic class; a bigger storm promises to burst, now looming beyond the horizon.

In the case of the Negro, we had to wait long for things to ripen; the ability of the newcomers to command a yearly reinforcement of one million from Europe, will insure us that there will be no long or tedious waiting for developments.

IMMIGRATION.

Three possible effects of immigration may be considered:

1. Substitution and displacement.
2. Amalgamation. This may be prevented by too great difference in several respects: Difference in race, as in the case of the Negro, not a sure preventive; difference in vitality and strength—if one race is decidedly weak and sickly, it will ruin another race as far as it comes in intimate contact; difference in principles—two civilizations, distinct in principles and ideals can not amalgamate; to say so would be a contradiction of terms and have no meaning. If there is intermarriage one or the other party surrenders; there is a gain on the part of one and a loss on the part of the other.

3. The permanent establishment in the country of various people, retaining their racial and national characteristics and prejudices. The world presents many such examples. It is a common condition in the Orient, the Balkans, in Austria, Ireland, Canada, in all of which countries different races have lived side by side for centuries, and preserved their identity, creeds, characteristics, etc. Contiguity, instead of tending to unity, has tended to emphasize differences, prejudices, hostilities, kept in check only by imperial power. We may be said to be facing this analogue, but there is a difference due to two circumstances. First, in the countries mentioned, there is fixity and sameness. The contending races are alike in strength and vitality, hardly gaining anything from each other on this ground. Neither are helped by immigration, hence the position of the various races as to numbers and importance, maintained the same through centuries, without marked variation. Here it is different. The native race has not shown itself equal in strength to the foreigners, and may not even be saved as one of the tribes of the country. The alien races are able to command reinforcement from abroad to the extent of a half or whole million a year, which is overwhelming and decisive in any competition.

Race differences and affinities are not, however, the only or most important to be considered. Sympathy of faith and sameness of principles counts more than race, language, or any

other consideration, in producing unity and fixity of purpose. In the final analysis it is two distinct civilizations facing each other in the United States. The following races, which are here in force, are united in sympathy of faith and principle: The Slav, Celt, South German, Latin and French Canadian. They are able to command from a half to a whole million reinforcements from Europe every year, and are strong in vitality and reproductive power.

These amalgamated races, embracing many nationalities, represent one civilization, the life and soul of which is the Roman church, with its autocrat and its autocratic principles. Opposed to this we have the Anglo-Saxons, with a civilization founded on the principles of personal right and liberty. Besides the races mentioned we have the Jew and the Negro. The Jews have their own program, but it is not at war with our civilization. The Negroes will look out for their own interests, when they shall have the balance of power as, in the present course of events, they will for a while, vote or no vote.

What is involved is not best described as a question of conscience. It is a question of supremacy, of power and world-wide interests, with the autocracy and its supporters. They are enforcing the claims of their systems. They may, under protest, take less than the whole, but can not be consistent in striving for less. The only business of any one's conscience and private judgment is to make them zealous in working for the accomplishment of the purpose under direction of authority.

2. Much blame is attached to the greed of capitalists in this country, and it has become a common pastime to abuse them. We are good-natured about it, and can afford to be so if money alone is involved. Except when it is sent out of the country, nothing is lost; readjustments and redistributions may always be brought about. There is another matter not so easily remedied. It is the effect of organized capital on the population, civilization and destiny of the country. The problem is very simple: These organizations may employ half a million workmen of our race; next year half a million come along from southern and central Europe and offer to work for less wages. There is at once a shifting of population to this extent. Alien races are increasing in this country by immigration and reproduction at the rate of a million a year. They are conquer-

ing territory every year equal to that of a couple of the smaller States. That the conquest goes on simultaneously in many States does not make their progress any the less certain and significant.

Southern capitalists thought themselves fortunate in being able to import Negroes and employ them because they were cheap. They did not get them free in wholesale lots of from five to eight hundred thousand a year, but had to buy them one by one, or in small lots, and finally could not do even this, except by stealth. Nevertheless, they found out at last that they had enough. They found out that two bodies can not occupy the same space; that if you give space for one black or one alien, you have just one less of your own race; that you can not create a black or alien population in the country, and yet have it for a white or native population; as far as one goes in the other goes out.

The blacks would have full possession of the extreme Southern States, if it had been left between them and the capitalists. The Negroes would have done as they did in Domingo, Hayti and Jamaica, where they have actual or practical possession. That they did not get possession of those Southern States is wholly due to the fact that a part of the country is unsuited for the operation of the capitalists. It was of necessity left to the "poor whites"—the mountain regions. The people in their seclusion preserved their original vitality, and became recruiting ground for a white population, which supplied the physical strength that kept in check the Negroes.

It is hardly thinkable that five or six coal-barons of the Anglo-Saxon race can indefinitely keep in submission two hundred thousand men that are aliens in race and creed, who hate them naturally and inevitably. Nor is it likely that this remnant of capitalists in this country can indefinitely rule over an alien population that may outnumber them as far as the workmen of a factory, mine or any other enterprise outnumber the proprietor or boss. The ground of the Anglo-Saxons that are depended on to keep in check the alien population is constantly being encroached upon and their power as a controlling force threatened.

In the South the Negroes have prevented the expansion of the native race to the full extent of their own numbers. The

loss to the South of those killed in the war on their account, would, up to date, have amounted to five millions more. We can not kill off half the young men without permanent damage to the race. In the North, we are short forty-five million native Americans, according to their rate of increase up to the beginning of alien immigration. They were overwhelmed in the struggle that ensued; their lives were nipped in the bud; they went down in the plague, their last kick was the Civil War; it finished them.

In a country filled to the possibility of support, losses, from whatever cause, that do not bring the population below the means of subsistence would not be counted. Here, where in the world's economy, was a country that it was our business and chance to settle and that otherwise would be settled by other races, the above-mentioned account is to our race a dead loss, wholly unnecessary, and therefore to be reckoned with.

The capitalists have a plausible motto: Let all races come here and let the best win. The "best" in this scheme of the capitalist is the one that will take the least for himself and leave the most to the capitalist. The slave and the slaveholder is the consummation of this ideal and was realized; but if not that, then the nearest approach to it. It is Tamerlane on the top of his pyramid of human bones; it is the capitalist on the top of the mass of servility and helpless dependence. The race is the "best" that lends itself the more readily to the condition, be it Negro, Chinese, Celt, Slav or Latin.

The slaveholders, in striving for their ideal, turned the fairest and best portion of the South over to a Negro population, and ruined their own race to that extent. The capitalists of the North, striving for the same ideal, destroyed their own race, and turned the country over to an alien population. In its pursuit, race and country are sacrificed as readily as every noble consideration.

There is never any disposition to look far ahead in this scramble of greed; for a per cent. more of dividend they will sacrifice a race and destroy a civilization, likely to find in the end that they have not gained. The Negroes got even with the slaveholders to some extent and are yet to be reckoned with. The aliens will get even with the capitalists without outside help; there will be done for them what was denied the workmen of the native race, and what then? What could have

been done formerly, only after a century or two of warfare, has been accomplished quietly; even the prosperity of which we boast, may not be interfered with. These people of other races may do well, may make the country blossom as a rose. It is in the country to blossom and the bloom may be produced by one race as soon as by another. The country will take care of itself and those that possess it; but there is something involved in the possession of it. Withal it would be due to mourn for a departed race, but we may well waive feeling and sentiment; if humanity has suffered no loss, sentiment is not much of a matter. If the native race was superseded by kindred people from across the sea these efforts would not be counted worth the while, or even by another race with the same civilization, but this is not so. The world is changed by the change and its future is affected by it. The earth's problem is its seething, struggling mass of corrupt humanity. Its expansion is no gain, the expansion of right principles alone is gain. For better or worse, the Anglo-Saxon race has become custodian of principles, which, however imperfectly applied, is all the world has to show for its struggles so far; as the race goes down, so they go down with it. Prosperity and power may be a blessing or a curse, according to the hands it falls into. The question is, what race, civilization and principles are to be advanced and strengthened by the mighty forces of this country? We are deliriously excited about its prosperity, as we are developing it to turn it over into the hands of alien races, a different view could be taken. It is counted policy and courage in a captain to blow up the ship rather than allow it to fall into the hands of an enemy. When Napoleon advanced into Russia, the people turned the country into a wilderness, and by so doing saved it to their own race. In more than one sense it is true that "he that would save his life shall lose it." Eagerly welcoming and proudly boasting of life of the meanest sort, we forfeit a noble life everlasting for our race in this country.

3. Let us tabulate for better understanding the three manifestations of revolutionary forces in modern civilization, of which scientists, philosophers and statesmen have, so far, taken no account.

1. The disintegrating forces of civilization which, aided by

modern means of communication, circulation and advertising, may destroy a civilized people in a short time.

2. The expanding force of primitive people which, freed from the ancient scourges of war, pestilence and famine, will produce a Genghis Khan eruption of people every year, such as, formerly, took place only once or twice in a century.

3. The representatives of the genius and resources of civilization, the servants, purveyors and promoters of alien races.

We have these new manifestations, and have put nothing new in operation, with which to meet them.

Some sixty years ago an idea fastened itself on civilized nations; that of education, as a "cure-all" for every ill. But, education, as we have it, so far from being a cure, has proved a necessary condition for the disintegrating forces, without which, and beyond which, they have not spread.

Americans have, for sixty years, fought a losing battle with education as a basis, and are yet confident they are going to fool somebody, with their schools and libraries; but the other party understands very well what is up, being quite sure, if we are not, that it is a continent that is being played for, and have no intention of being fooled.

Americans, seeing their own race displaced, are eyeing their successors, the swarthy children from southern and central Europe, with no stepmotherly interest. They are, so to speak, taking them to their bosom. Even their unpronounceable names and strange books do not appall them. They have the impulse toward them of a disappointed woman for the offspring of others. Their schemes, in their behalf, are not indeed wholly disinterested; the idea is that they will take up with their teaching and example. They succeeded with one alien race, the Negro. But then the Negroes were orphans; they had no authority of their own, no tradition, no ideal. It is entirely different with these newcomers; they are not orphans, and designs upon them are not only what may be called "bad taste," but are presumably doomed to failure. They pity and resent interference, being fully provided with everything of their own, which they are fully persuaded is far superior to anything that can be offered them. They have their mother—the church; their father—the pope; their teachers and guardians—the priests. They have their organization; their distinct ideals; their plans and purposes; their

ambition, which is world-wide and includes the United States. They have come to conquer, not to be conquered.

Americans have schools, missions and settlements, and are confident they can empty the ocean with their water-bucket. The calculation runs as follows:

These people of alien races will go to school, will learn English; will acquire knowledge; will become Americans. Americans believed, of themselves, that all they needed, to be saved, was to build schools, and stuff themselves chock-full of book-learning; but it only made matters worse, the more they were educated the faster they died. The controlling influence, in our alien population, will save them from this; but not to lose them again, as fondly imagined. A little knowledge or polish will not spoil these people for faithfulness to their race and their ideals. Languages and knowledge are not a monopoly of the Anglo-Saxon race; rightly applied, they are weapons, which one may use in behalf of his own, as much as another. It is fair to presume they will be thus used. Eagerness to avail themselves of advantages is reasonable, when furnished to them, free of cost. Our friends err in thinking the game is to be played into their hands. The priests, who control our alien population, are not easily fooled; they are old campaigners and understand the game. They have the means of keeping their people together—the strongest organization the world ever saw. If they do not sequester the children in parochial schools, they take good care to keep their influence over them. They have no doubt there is a difference, and do not think lightly of the issue. They will put up a bigger fight for a family, or a single child, than the Americans for their whole country. Where Americans have failed and been fooled on every point, they have been wise and guarded every point. They have gained on the population steadily, at an ever-increasing rate. But our friends are right in saying that these people, of alien races, will become Americans. They will become the Americans. And America is a large asset; they will, no doubt, appreciate it, and be proud of it. They will go further than we in some respects. We are turning over the country with a good degree of grace; but these will fight for its possession, tooth and nail. There will always be plenty of Americans in America. The question: Who are to be the future Americans, is the whole issue. If we are content to surrender this, there is no

more anything to argue about; we have surrendered our race and country, and there is nothing left for a dispute.

4. When all has been said on this subject, it is still a question whether there is integrity and strength enough left in the race to save it; no matter how the situation be realized. It has been shown that our race is, physically, hardly fit to survive; it may come to be questioned whether it is, in any sense, fit to survive. Restriction of immigration is necessary to give it a chance, but, even then, it would not survive, if it is wholly without strength and integrity. We have a general condition, as has been described, and the leading forces of our civilization and representative people are persistently working to produce and continue it. Churches and church people have led the procession downward from the start and wish to be consistent: science has nothing to say on the subject; newspapers scatter the seed of death and destruction for a small consideration; capitalists annihilate their race by wholesale displacement of it for an alien population; politicians will do as much for place and preferment. One and all are actively at work destroying the remaining strength of their race; all that stands between the miserably weak remnant they leave here and the fury of past and present fanaticism. Final defeat can not be averted with supreme selfishness everywhere. Perhaps we shall know "the day of our visitation," or, perhaps, we shall not; no prophet is needed to tell us we are nearing our last chance.

In one of our Western cities, not long ago, a count was taken of the respective worshipers, in Catholic and Protestant churches. It was something like two hundred and twenty-five thousand and fifty-five thousand respectively, the latter counted twice, and a majority of them foreigners, but of our race from abroad. The proportion is typical of our cities in the North. Some are worried because they imagine the strangers are congested in the cities; but they are spreading in the country as well; their rate of increase will force them rapidly in all directions. Americans are drifting swiftly into the hands of the old adversary, from whom their fathers fled to America. He has followed and is overtaking them. They feel the need of being friendly; they are looking up into his face wistfully, and asking if he will be good to them. Yes, he will

be good. They are patting the ecclesiastic tiger on the head and calling him pretty names; it is sport while the chain of an adverse majority holds. It is well to indulge in fine feelings, universal brotherhood, boundless liberality, while it is left for us to be condescending and on the giving hand. When we become the dependents, it assumes a different aspect. Doubtless, even an autocrat may be generous, but it does not follow it will be a good thing to be dependent on his mercy and generosity; it may not amount to much when it comes to the test.

The question in this country is, the possession of the country. Not in any figurative sense, as when we say of a millionaire or boss, that he owns the country; but in a sense entirely literal, more literal than if a war raged about it. No ordinary war, that the country could engage in would involve the life of a race and civilization. Yet, in such a case, even we would lay aside our partisan squabbles and attend to the one question of saving the country. While we are attending to the tariff, the other party attends to the main issue, with time to spare to help keep us interested in our wrangle. And we are pleased at their zeal for "Americanism," which, after a fashion, is genuine enough; they are in earnest about America; and unless Americans were easily fooled, they would not have nearly lost the country.

What is lost can not be regained, it is barely a question of checking the process and saving what remains, if a weakened race is capable of an effort. Fifty years ago a few simple measures would have saved the whole country to the Anglo-Saxon race; twenty-five years ago much could have been done, with little difficulty; now it will take determined efforts, on the part of all that is left of the Anglo-Saxons to save what they still retain. We may drift till things begin to topple; there will be squirming then, no doubt. There will be a few years of desperation and vain struggle; after that—what?

It is not, mainly, a question of racial or national pride or sentiment, nor of ugly comparisons between nationalities. It is a question of principles and the future of humanity. A question of the conflict that has been eminent in the world since man was placed upon the earth; the conflict between the idea of man's right to himself, and the right of the autocrat to all men. Thousands of years of blood and misery culminated

some three hundred years ago in a long and fearful struggle. Since then the contending forces have rested on their arms. A balance, between them, was established, which will be overthrown, if the United States is won by the autocrat. Many of our race affect to think lightly of what was thus gained, after centuries of struggle and incalculable suffering. But there is no reason to believe they are in any way fitted to fight the battle over again, should it become necessary.

And it is too soon to take for granted that it may not. The autocratic king or priest rules over nine-tenths of mankind; it is not a matter of small significance that the latter has gained a large share of the United States, with good prospects of winning it all. Of the two, the rule of the latter is, by far, the more oppressive and dangerous, hopeless and degrading, so much so, that the adherents have had to curb it, where it is general; but wherever this is done, there is a standing quarrel with the autocrat and his agents, who never cease to strive and plot for absolute mastery. They must be true to themselves, their system and principles. Here it is still a campaign for possession, which unifies, solidifies and intensifies the zeal and devotion of the people for their leaders and their cause. This devotion and zeal can be counted on till the opposition is disposed of.

A long evolution is ahead of us before the Catholics of the United States become the Liberals of France or Italy. In the home lands, political jars deflect their zeal; in the United States, the presence of Protestants stimulate it. Fire, faithfulness and enthusiasm will be maintained during the campaign for conquest. After that, the priests will rule for from fifty to one hundred years. By that time we may look for a reaction; there will be a priests' party and a liberal party. The power of the church may then be somewhat restricted, as in most Catholic countries, where it was done, not because the church burned heretics, but because she burned Catholics when she was through with the heretics. As is evident from the failure of the Protestant propaganda among them, the Liberals are everywhere good Catholics; they do not do anything for the sake of those not of the faith—if the occasion affords them shelter, it is grudgingly allowed; nor for liberty as a principle, but solely for the sake of their own safety. They are in terror of the church, and,

as in France, doing desperate things to secure themselves. They have not forgotten the lessons of the past which the Protestants will have to learn over again; and are placing themselves in a position for it. The church, through her fifteen hundred years, should be supposed to have afforded experience enough to be remembered, but if not, more may be deserved.

Nevertheless, Americans are confident that the agents of the autocrat in this country are liberal, and they are doubtless that and whatever else helps to promote their interests. There is little bungling in their camp. It is policy to allay suspicion, to lay low, to minimize their numbers and gain. Had the Anglo-Saxons twenty-five millions in South America, rapidly gaining on the natives, we would be told of it every day. These people are not in the show-business, they are conducting a campaign. Americans are comforted while allowed to run the government and keep their money. This is not at present the concern; it is the population and physical strength of the country that the struggle is for; the rest is easy. There will be no move, unless the issue is forced, till success is easy and certain; their position materially strengthened every day and hour, they will not take risk of hasty action. Their policy is not to take the country piecemeal; this is a blunder which has been carefully avoided. Had they set up their regime in a part of the country contradictory to the rest, it would have met with opposition and failure; they have their forces distributed all over the country, and are moving on every point.

It is asked: "Where is the realization of danger anticipated from immigration?" So far, nothing has happened, save a substitution of races. This has taken place to an extent greater than anticipated in the most extravagant prediction. The native race in the North has been wrecked, other races have taken its place and the process is under way in the South; a loss of the country by one race and gain of it by others. Perhaps this is the essential of what was anticipated in the way of danger. It is not appreciated by those to whom race and country are mere means for raking together an amount of money. With them the question of danger is strictly personal—danger to themselves and their position; or changes in the form and administration of government, implying such. This is a contingency that does not worry the other parties;

with them the essential is the population, the possession of the country by their people. Danger of this began with the beginning of alien immigration, and has increased with its increase. When we have the evidence of danger that is asked for, it will be too late to guard against it. The evidence of danger asked for is final and complete overthrow; even at the present rate, we shall have to wait for this a few years.

And what will this final overthrow mean? Whatever it may mean, it will mean the church triumphant. If we have a successful socialistic movement in this country; it will be headed by the church—not till the time of transition, for it would interfere with her plans, nor is the church a leader of forlorn hopes. In this movement the fanaticism of class differences will be joined with the fanaticism of creed. The church is not adverse to any movement that she is allowed to control. Nor is she adverse to the idea of gaining credit for progressiveness, if she can do it without sacrificing her principles. Her principles are herself and her power; it is all there is to them. Such a movement might take any one of many shapes; the church either in the foreground or background of it. The fact that the masses are mostly Catholic and poor, and the capitalists mostly Protestants, would incline her towards it. She will not risk her popularity with the vast multitude of Catholics on account of any mere technicality—there is nothing suicidal about the church—nor because she is particular in what way the heretics are got away with. Much may be surmised with regard to the time of transition we are headed for; with the church, it is a mere question of detail. The Catholics in this country are unanimous in their enthusiastic devotion; it will not tax the ingenuity of the church to keep on top of any movement. With or without any movement, the church will work out her own distinct purpose, her authority and interests always sufficient warrant for any act.

5. Perhaps the nearest parallel to our immigration are those mighty migrations, which, in the early centuries, swept from the north down over southern Europe and Asia. But in numbers, in movement and displacement of people there is, after all, scarcely any comparison. All the people involved in these migrations through a century or two would scarcely aggregate the half or whole million which we receive every

year and continuing. They came from the sparsely peopled regions of the north; they gained their way by their hardihood, and were swallowed up among the multitudes, in the countries they invaded. Our southern migrations northward gain their way by the impact of immense numbers, bringing each year enough to repeople a State, as the native race melts away before them.

With the claim of priority on the part of the native American and Anglo-Saxon race in this country, they should not have allowed themselves to be pushed aside and out. The Anglo-Saxons settled this country, subdued the wilderness, and held undisputed sway for two hundred years. It would not have been wrong had they defended their possession by all the means in their power. Had they kept all they had, they would have had no particular reason for boasting; it would have been only their rightful share in the division of the two continents. The other races have all of South and Central America, Mexico, the Islands and half of Canada. A just and safe balance between the races demanded that they should have kept all of the United States. In the divine providence and by the energy of the race, it had been taken possession of. Displacement to any extent is so much ground and territory lost, and that by the only genuine kind of conquest settling and peopling the country by their own kin. Had our race stood its ground, held its ground, and insisted on keeping the destinies of the country firmly in its own hands by controlling and regulating immigration in favor of itself and its civilization, it would have done what its right not only allowed, but demanded. It has allowed itself to be overrun and overridden till there is left to the Anglo-Saxons a bare majority, which is being rapidly reduced, and we are drifting toward the point where the balance will turn against them; then not only half the country is lost to them, but the whole country is irretrievably lost to their race. The Anglo-Saxons will hardly wish to stay here as a minority; nor will they be wanted to; inducements will be offered sufficient to cause them to depart; what is done now with shamefacedness and some misgivings will be done with determination and dispatch. They will not endure what their forefathers did for the sake of existence; if the battle goes against them, they will lay down and die, like a wounded, discouraged animal.

Of the two revolutionary forces in modern civilization, that of rapid decrease is not so impressive as that of swift increase. This insures that races which have neglected or forfeited their chances will never have them back again. Although the race of early Americans die, not again will the country return to a solitary, inoffensive wilderness to afford opportunities for new experiments along the lines of better principles. Out of the darkness of the middle ages and the past, myriads will come, born without restraint; bringing with them the institutions and aspirations of the past, here to find new life, new growth, new opportunities and new hopes; exulting in prospects of new triumphs, as in no other country; the prospect of a solid, priest-ruled population from Hudson Bay to Cape Horn, able again to raise the standards that were lowered by the fathers of a race, which is losing to the world and itself what was gained by centuries of heroic effort.

It would be no exaggeration to say that a race of people never before lost so much in so short a time—perhaps never had so much to lose; and it is equally true that a race of people never before acted so helplessly. Like so many wooden idols, our representatives have stood around, while their race has been annihilated, a continent slipping from its grasp. Yet, there has been the consciousness of what is going on. We have had outbursts of temper, spiteful words and broken heads, where we should have plans and actions commensurate with the life and death struggle of a race, the fight for a continent. Even now we have measures discussed—abortive, even if put in operation; and plans—carefully aimed at friend and foe alike, so as not to hurt the feelings of any one. Afraid to tackle the main proposition, we indulge in weak skirmishing around the edges, so as not to seem to have wholly surrendered. We are picking some at the Jews and Mormons, for they are weak, and do not show their teeth.

Barring polygamy, Mormonism is only dangerous as far as it is an imitation of Catholicism; autocratic central authority, to be obeyed without reference to personal conscience and private judgment. If we are not afraid of the three hundred millions, we should not fear the three hundred thousand. There is not much ground for pro-Jewish sentiment, from a national point of view. Jews hardly ever become anything but Jews. But we have gone too far to be particular about

mere disadvantages; it is a question of positive dangers, and the Jews are not one. They are, of necessity, friends of civil and religious liberty; their numbers are limited. Had we the whole Jewish population of the world here, it would only be a fair offset to races and nationalities that are a danger and whose numbers are not limited. The Anglo-Saxons may as well make up their minds to tackle some one of their own size, if they wish to save their race and civilization.

Mere blustering will avail nothing. It is useless to call upon a race of people, already cowered and beaten, to assert itself under ever-increasing pressure. We might as well expect the scattered remnants of an army, already defeated and demoralized, to regain its position, in the face of ever-increasing and overwhelming numbers. In a contest, nearly even, from a half to a whole million reinforcements, once for all, might determine the result. Had the native race all its original strength and vigor, and twice its present numbers, it would be equally certain to go down before a continuance of the present immigration.

The country is now dependent on the South for physical strength to overrule the alien population of the North. But when the double-headed cyclone shall strike the South, with full force, disintegration from within, and immigration from without, the native race will be mowed down there as rapidly as it has been in the North.

Given time, a race in a bad way may right itself. Immigration sweeps it off the ground without any remedy or further chance.

Already it is no uncommon thing to hear the frank avowal on the part of men of our race that they will not marry, will not rear children, unless this immigration is stopped. It is useless to blame this to cowardice. Even the animals will not nest or rear their young, unless they have reasonable assurance of security. The time is past when mere scolding will answer; the time of strength and opportunities undisputed. The American way of depending on bravado and bluff does not count in the struggle; nothing but painstaking upbuilding of strength and skillful use of advantages will count. Even while bragging and bluffing they shrink from the contest, and are constantly falling back. Nor is it to be supposed that when a race of people reaches the reflective age, natural impulses will

altogether rule and heavy responsibilities be incurred without the least regard to future prospects. To insure the continuance of such a race, the leading and governing forces will have to devise means that will make life possible and desirable. It has been cowardice, selfishness, crime, neglect, individually and collectively; reasons have been produced where there were none. It was inevitable that the time of imminent danger should come, as we have all along been moving in that direction. No one with nerve and steadiness enough to look at the situation can fail to be impressed with its meaning—these innumerable armies of semi-civilized people from southern and central Europe, their steady tramp as they march through the country, swooping down upon every means of a livelihood in multitude and conquering power beyond any thing ever before witnessed in the world, and only to be likened with what is pictured in certain visions in the book of Revelation.

The question, how long a few millionaires can keep on top of an alien population, and color a pretension, is not of sufficient value to be worth considering. The operations of the capitalists of the North, as of the slaveholders of the South, has been treason against their race and country; for a small consideration to themselves they have sacrificed both the one and the other; what becomes of them is of no consequence. It is not worth the while to bolster up a pretension; the sooner it disappears the better. When alien races are in practical possession of the country, its problems and destinies should be left to them ungrudgingly; we have forfeited our right to protest or complain, and meddlesomeness is in bad taste. If we are not content to contemplate this, then we should go to work to build up again an Anglo-Saxon population. Do it openly, earnestly, systematically. Doubtless, it is serious for a weakened race to take up a life and death struggle for existence, when by timely and rational precautions it might have held the whole country without a struggle; but it is that now, or getting off the continent. The race has barely a fighting chance; when the balance turns against it, it will not have that or any other kind of a chance. Immigration of aliens would have to be stopped—the educational test would have done some good sixty years ago, but it is not now a question of a few thousand more or less. We should have to consider

carefully what we can save of the wreckage; where we can stop disintegration; what help we can get from Anglo-Saxon countries abroad. It might not be great numbers under any circumstances, but it would amount to something if those who came were not choked down or driven back by a competition against which they are as helpless as the native Americans. It will not do to say that the aliens are doing work the people of our own race will not do; ninety-seven per cent. of these are accustomed to and dependent on hard work of manual labor for a living. If the chance for this is closed against them, they have no means of a start; they can not start as bankers and merchants, nor do we want a nation of such. If the people in Europe that are kindred to us have no outlet, they will probably learn to do what Americans have done—destroy themselves. We should save this country for them, and offer them every inducement to come. The other races have all the rest of America, with an area several times that of the United States. Even if it were a question simply to have our race represented, a few honest working-people are more satisfactory than the millionaires; but if our race is to hold the country it must occupy the ground of physical force and numbers.

It is useless now to speak of the native American race in the North—to save the country for it. Fifty years of disintegration have left so few that in many States there are not enough for a respectable factor in the population. Nearly swamped by the first Celtic invasion, help was afforded by a considerable Anglo-Saxon immigration in the years succeeding the war; these are still a principal dependence, and fairly held the balance, till southern Europe opened her flood-gates, and poured out those innumerable swarms which have overrun the country. Even if this immigration is stopped, considering the condition of our Anglo-Saxon population, and the greater increase of the aliens already here, these would probably in time gain the ascendancy unless we receive help from the Anglo-Saxon countries in Europe. The Anglo-Saxon countries in Europe where Anglo-Saxon civilization prevails are: Scandinavia, Finland, Scotland, England, north Germany and a few contingents elsewhere; their strictness and integrity as such in the order named.

There is the difficulty of a weakened race making a strong effort against a strong opposition. Its tendency is to struggle

—not to better itself, but to keep up appearances, and—drift. The difficulty of such an effort contradictory to past traditions and past policy, in view of other nations. That this is a difficulty in appearance rather than in fact makes it nothing the less real to those possessed by these traditional notions. Representatives of other nations, not thus hampered, have no difficulty in appreciating the situation. They have their own thoughts about it. While we are shutting our eyes to what is going on, they have theirs wide open. They have not our reasons; to them the spectacle is the most amazing and interesting ever witnessed in the world—a mighty country falling into the hands of their people without striking a blow. Certain south European nations have become almost silly in their show of friendship for the United States; they may well be anxious that the present process be not disturbed. The nations of Europe would not be shocked in the way we suppose, if we should plainly announce it our intention to save the country for our own race and civilization, and adopt a policy with this end in view; they know that in our place they would not have waited till half the country was alienated. Nevertheless, such an announcement would have a certain effect upon them; they would not see their schemes frustrated without a protest; there would be attempts at bluffing, no doubt. But unless we are prepared to show the spirit and determination of actual warfare, we are not up to the situation; we have indulged in war preparations, and actual fighting, where infinitely less was at stake. We are, to the end of it, involved in this conflict, with all its consequences, whether we choose to make a stand or to continue our retreat.

When it is understood that the native race of a country is more easily and effectively destroyed, and its civilization subverted, by the invasion of an unrestricted and unlimited immigration than by armed conflict, the right of self-defense against it will be recognized. The people of a country can have no better ground on which to put up a fight than that of its race and civilization; if it should not count this sufficient reason it would be void of self-respect. Nor could it for a moment tolerate interference from other nations while contending on this ground; we can not consult other nations on a plain question of self-preservation.

(THE END.)

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